



R. L. P. Lewis.

Myddfai Vicarage

Llandovery

Carns.

Oct. 26th. 193

A HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF THE CYMRY:

From the earliest period to the present time.

BY THE

REV. WILLIAM HUGHES,

VICAR OF LLANUWCHLLYN, BALA,

Author—Life and Times of Bishop Morgan : Life and Letters of Rev. T. Charles, Bala ; Life and Speeches of Dean Cotton ; Translator into Welsh of the S.P.C.K. Commentary on the Epistles to the Romans, Galatians to Jude inclusive, and on the Revelation, &c.



‘Stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls.’

JER. vi. 16

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

LONDON :

ELLIOT STOCK, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.

1894.



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

To
The Cymry,

WHOSE CHURCH IS AFFECTIONATELY KNOWN IN WALES

BY THE HOUSEHOLD TERM

“YR HEN FAM,”

OR

“THE OLD MOTHER,”—

THE CHURCH WHO, AS THE SPIRITUAL MOTHER OF THE CYMRY,
GAVE TO HER CHILDREN, AMONG OTHER BLESSINGS,

“THE SINCERE MILK OF THE WORD,”

BY MEANS OF THE WELSH BIBLE,

“THAT THEY MAY GROW THEREBY”—

THIS HISTORY

OF THE CHURCH OF THEIR FORE-FATHERS

IS INSCRIBED,

WITH FEELINGS OF AFFECTION AND

REGARD.

P R E F A C E .

THE History of the Church of the Cymry divides itself into the five following periods—a division which I have followed in the present work.

I.—A.D. 200—450. The Period of the Roman Conquest.

II.—A.D. 450—681. The Period of the Saxon Conquest.

III.—A.D. 681—1295. The Saxon and Norman Periods of the Final Absorption of the Welsh Church in the English.

IV.—A.D. 1295—1534. From the Period of the Final Absorption of the Welsh Church in the English to the Period of the Reformation.

V.—From the Period of the Reformation to the present time.

Although the Church of the Cymry—the lineal descendant of the Ancient British Church—is so blended with the history of the Welsh people, that church and nation were, within comparatively recent times, but different names for the same community, the claims of the “Old Mother” to the filial affection of her offspring does not always receive from those sons who have strayed from their old home, that respectful consideration which is her due. To stigmatize a mother as an “alien” is as un-natural as it is untrue. And the application of the term to the Church in Wales is the latest fiction advanced in support of her disestablishment.

PREFACE.

Welsh Churchmen hail with thankfulness the increasing interest shown by English Churchmen in the welfare of the Church in Wales. Let us hope that the history of a church, so rich in resources may, in the near future, prove as attractive to English Churchmen as our ancient mountains and lovely vales, with their mines of wealth, have proved to be to English taste, skill and perseverance ; and so strengthen the bond of union between English and Welsh Churchmen, so that by means of hearty co-operation and oneness of aim, based on our common Faith, we may attain to that mutual sympathy, spoken of by S. Paul, "whether one member suffer all the members suffer with it ; or one be honoured all the members rejoice with it."

I venture to express a hope that this humble effort—a labour of love—notwithstanding its many imperfections, for I can scarcely hope to have escaped error—may help, in a measure, to meet a felt want in the ecclesiastical history of Wales. The addition of illustrations bearing on some salient points of Welsh Church history could not, I thought, fail to make the subject more interesting and attractive ; for the history of the Church in Wales is, like Wales itself, very picturesque.

LLANUWCHLLYN, *St. Luke's Day*, 1894.



CONTENTS.

PERIOD I.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

ANCIENT BRITAIN—JULIUS CAESAR.

	Page
The Britons—Druidism—Druidical Sacrifices—A Human Sacrifice—The Three Orders of Druids—The Arch-druid—Druidical Temples—" Môn, Mam Cymru."	1

CHAPTER II.

INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY INTO BRITAIN.

Extension of early British Christianity—British-Roman towns in Britain—The Welsh Triads—Legends of early British Church—Gallican origin of British Christianity—British Church and General Councils... ..	9
---	---

CHAPTER III.

THE DIOCLETIAN PERSECUTION.

The Roman Government and Christianity—Constantius—The Persecution in Britain—S. Alban—Amphilbalus—SS. Aaron and Julius—Constantine—Helena—Sees of York, London and Caerleon—British Bishops at General Councils	18
--	----

CHAPTER IV.

DEPARTURE OF THE ROMANS.

Effects of the Roman Evacuation—Roman divisions of Britain—Cunedda Wledig—" Cymry"—Vortigern	29
---	----

CHAPTER V.

THE PELAGIAN HERESY.

Pelagianism in Britain—Germanus and Lupus—Public discussion at Verulam—Breton and Welsh languages—Lent A.D. 429—The "Hallelujah Battle"—The "Moralia" of S. Gregory—Maesgarmon—Second mission of S. Germanus—His life and death ...	35
---	----

CHAPTER VI.

Page

BRITANNO-ROMAN CHURCHES.

Architecture of British Churches—"Adeilad"—S. Martin's Church, Canterbury—Christ Church, Canterbury—S. Mary's Church, Dover	51
--	----

PERIOD II.

CHAPTER VII.

SETTLEMENT OF THE BRITISH CHURCH IN WALES.

Topography of Wales—"Lloegr"—Bishops Theon, Thadioc, and Dubricius—King Arthur	58
---	----

CHAPTER VIII.

FOUNDING OF THE DIOCESAN EPISCOPATE IN WALES.

Itinerant Bishops—Chor-Episcopi—Division of Wales into dioceses—Bangor—Llanelwy—S. David's—Llandaff—The "Yellow Plague"—"Liber Llandavensis"—Dedication of Churches—"Llan"	64
---	----

CHAPTER IX.

S. DEWL.

Birth of S. David—Personal appearance—At Ty-Gwyn-ar-Daf—Synod of Llanddewibrefi—S. David present—Pelagians vanquished—State of the Church in Wales in his time—Death of S. David	78
---	----

CHAPTER X.

CONFERENCES OF THE WELSH BISHOPS WITH AUGUSTINE.

Augustine's questions to Gregory concerning his attitude towards the Welsh Church—His reply—The Roman Pall—First conference with Welsh Bishops—Terms of union—The Roman and British tonsures—Celtic missions—A "miracle"—Second conference—Welsh bishops and the hermit—An alleged Protest	85
---	----

CHAPTER XI.

WELSH MONASTERIES.

Welsh monasticism—The ancient monasteries of Wales—Bangor on the Menai—Bangor Monachorum on the Dee—The Battle of Chester—Ancient remains at Bangor-is-y-coed	99
--	----

CHAPTER XII.

A SAINTS' REST.

Page

The "Rome of Britain"—Bardsey Island—A sanctuary Church	
The use of the Cross	114

CHAPTER XIII.

WELSH SAINTS.

A List of Welsh Saints, from about A.D. 280 to about A.D.	
700	126

List of Illustrations.

1. Druidical Priest offering a Human Sacrifice	4
2. Remains of Druidical Temple, Stonehenge	6
3. Caradoc in Rome	12
4. The Shrine of S. Alban	22
5. Constantine	26
6. Maesgarmon	45
7. S. Martins Church, Canterbury	51
8. Supposed appearance of the original Roman Church at Canterbury	55
9. Arms of Welsh Sees	57
10. S. Asaph Cathedral	64
11. Llandaff Cathedral.. .. .	71
12. A Map to illustrate the Ancient British Church in Wales..	77
13. S. David's Cathedral	78
14. Arms of the See of Canterbury	87
15. SS. Columba and Cyndeyrn exchanging pastoral staffs.. ..	92
16. British Bishops in Conference with Augustine	96
17. The City of Bangor	99
18. Bangor-is-y-coed	104
19. Bardsey Island	108
20. A fugitive taking refuge from his enemy in the Sanctuary Chair	112
21. Ancient Cross	113
22. S. Deiniol	115

PART II.

CONTENTS.

PERIOD III.

FROM THE DEATH OF CADWALADR TO THE END OF THE
SCHISM BETWEEN THE WELSH AND ENGLISH CHURCHES.

CHAPTER XIV.

	Page
Letter of Aldhelm on the Paschal Cycle and form of tonsure adhered to by the Welsh—Complaints of the bitterness of feeling of the Welsh against the Saxons—Advances the claims of Papal supremacy—Change in the time of keeping Easter in Gwynedd— The like in Deheubarth—Disturbance in consequence...	... 132

CHAPTER XV.

Gradual fusion of the Welsh in the Anglo-Saxon Church— The Question of Orders—The Ordinal of the Church of England primitive in form—Asser Menevensis—His friendship with Alfred the Great—Attends the English Court—Bishop of Exeter and Sherborne—Supposed to have helped Alfred in drawing up his code of laws—His connection with the University of Oxford ...	134
---	-----

CHAPTER XVI.

HYWEL DDA.

Becomes Prince of Wales—His two brothers—Effects reforms in Wales—Visits Rome with the Bishops of Bangor, Mercuria and Teiaw—Conference of the nation on Welsh laws, A.D. 928—How far Papal sanction was sought by Howel—Extent of Papal supremacy in his time—Howel's death and character ...	137
--	-----

PERIOD IV.

CHAPTER XVII.

A.D. 1066—1115.

FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST TO THE CONSECRATION
OF THE FIRST NORMAN BISHOP OF WALES.

The Conqueror and Hildebrand's claims of supremacy—Pope Paschal and the English clergy—The Normans and the Saxons— Norman conquest of Wales, A.D. 1081—Norman Architecture— Dooms Day Book—Herveus, Bishop of Bangor—Death of Rhyddmarch—Lives of the Cambro-British Saints—Llithoedd and Legends	145
---	-----

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER XVIII.

A.D. 1115—1188.

From the Consecration of Bernard, the first Norman Bishop of Wales, to the Visitation of Archbishop Baldwin as Legate—Welsh Bishops take oath of Canonical obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury—Canonization of S. David—Translation of remains of S. Dyfrig from Bardsey to Llandaff Cathedral—Prince Owain Gwynedd and the see of Bangor—Correspondence with Archbishop Becket respecting the see—Death of Bishop Meurig—Becket writes to Welsh Bishops commanding them to issue sentences of excommunication against the King—De Bardsey, Dean of Bangor—Cited before Archbishop for seeking metropolitan in Ireland to consecrate Bishop of Bangor, nominated by Owain Gwynedd—Pope Alexander III. and the Bangor clergy—Archdeacon and Canons of Bangor cited before the Archbishop for seeking metropolitan in Ireland—Becket's Letter to Owain Gwynedd—Owain's Death—His Character—Henry II. makes a pilgrimage to the Tomb of S. David... .. 152

CHAPTER XIX.

A.D. 1143.

The Mendicant Orders in Wales The four Mendicant Orders—Schoolmen—Rivalries of the Orders—The Cistercians predominant in Wales—Agricultural in occupation—Lived on the alms of the public—The title "Vicar"—The Abbey of Strata Florida—Tintern Abbey—The Llanfairs of Wales—The Abbey of Llanbadarnfawr—The obligations of posterity to the Monastic Institutions—Welsh sympathies of the Cistercians—A List, with notes, of the Religious Houses of Wales during the Middle Ages 161

CHAPTER XX.

A.D. 1188.

Preaching the Crusades in Wales—Official Visit of Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, as Papal Legate—Archbishop Baldwin, Lord Justice Glanville, and Gerald, the Welshman's visit to Wales—Baldwin's personal appearance and character—The Crusade procession—An incident at Llanfair-juxta-Harlech—Gerald's appearance and character—"Mass" and "Offeren"—Effects of Gerald's preaching in Wales—His knowledge of the Welsh language—Order of the journey through Wales with the stations at which they halted—Tomb of Owain Gwynedd at Bangor Cathedral—At St. Asaph—Prince Owain Cyfeiliog ... 176

CHAPTER XXI.

GERALD, THE WELSHMAN.

A.D. 1146—1223.

His father and mother—Contemporaries—Education at Paris

CONTENTS

University—Rector of Chesterton—Canon of Hereford—Arch-deacon of Brecon—Archbishop's Commissioner in Wales—The Dispute respecting the Parish of Kerry—Elected Bishop of S. David's—Peter de Leia appointed by the King—Gerald's idea of being the Becket of Wales—Is appointed to the temporary care of the see of S. David's during the enforced absence of Bishop de Leia—Refuses the sees of Bangor and S. Asaph—Baldwin recommends him to the King as deserving of a Bishopric—Death of De Leia—Gerald elected Bishop once more—Election rejected by the King—Appeals to the Pope—A prolonged fight—Visits Rome to plead his own cause—His Historical Memorial to the Pope—Sympathises with Gerald, but decides against him—Fights single-handed, and appeals to the laity of Wales—Submits at last to the consecration of Geoffrey, prior of Llanthony—Retires from public life—His death and burial—His Writings—Extracts therefrom illustrative of Welsh religious and social life in his time ... 184

CHAPTER XXII.

"LLEWELYN EIN LLYW OLAF."

English aggressions in Wales—Union of Wales under Prince Llewelyn—His differences with Edward I.—His memorial to the Pope, the Archbishops of Canterbury, York, and others on the subject—Fruitless efforts of Archbishop Peckham to intercede between Edward and Llewelyn—Llewelyn's Death—Burial ... 196

CHAPTER XXIII.

A.D. 1283—4.

STATUTE OF RHUDDLAN.

Division of Wales into Shires—Birth of Edward II. at Carnarvon—Christened by Bishop of Bangor—Peckham's Visitation—his policy towards the Welsh—The Welsh and English Languages 205

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

23. Bangor Cathedral	...	..	...	...	159
24. A Cistercian Monk	...	...	...	...	161
25. Tintern Abbey	...	...	...	...	166
26. Tomb of Owain Gwynedd	...	...	...	...	180
27. Map of Gerald's Journey through Wales	...	...	...	...	183
28. Ruins of Cwm Hir Abbey	...	...	...	...	205

BALA:

PRINTED BY DAVIES AND EVANS, BERWYN STREET.

PART III.

CHAPTER XXIV.

FROM THE FALL OF LLEWELYN TO THE ACCESSION OF HENRY TUDOR.

Edward I. and the Welsh Bards—"Morfa Rhuddlan"—The Gregorian tones and the *Hwyl*—Prereformation liturgy—The Use of Bangor—Dafydd ab Gwilym—Owain Glyndwr—Richard II. at Flint Castle—Henry IV.—Lord Cobham—Glyndwr at Bangor—His revolt—Cymmorthau—Owain Tudor—Peacock, Bishop of S. Asaph—The Wars of the Roses—Henry Tudor 213

CHAPTER XXV.

THE REFORMATION.

Henry VIII.—The revival of the Eisteddfod—An Act for uniting Wales to England—Acts of Convocation—Meaning of the title "Supreme Head of the Church"—The Suppression of Papal Supremacy and of the Monasteries—The Mendicant Orders—Bishop Davies and the Welsh Bible—Dafydd Ddu o Hiraddug—Dr. Elis Pryse—A list of Welsh Monasteries suppressed .. 235

CHAPTER XXVI.

EDWARD VI. AND MARY.

Progress of the Reformation in Wales—The Welsh Bishops—William Salesbury—Anglican Orders—Welsh Martyrs—Morris Clynnog—Canon Griffith Roberts of Milan—State of the Welsh language 254

CHAPTER XXVII.

ELIZABETH.

Consecration of Bishops—Bishop Barlow—The Welsh Bible—An Act of Parliament—State of Public Worship—Demolishing of Altars—Bishop Robinson's sermon at Paul's Cross—Ecclesiastical Commission—Romanists and Puritans—Brownists—Celibacy and Marriage—The Welsh gentry—Founding of Jesus College, Oxford 264

CHAPTER XXIX.

	Page.
Translation of the Bible into the Welsh language—The necessity of a Welsh Bible—Welsh Ballads—Blessings of a Welsh Bible—Archbishop Whitgift—Dedication of the Welsh Bible—Opposition to the work—Bishop Morgan's defence—Archdeacon Prys—Dean Goodman of Westminster—Publication of the Welsh Bible—Morgan's helpers—Influence of the Welsh Bible—Martin Marprelate Tracts—John Penry—Autographs	292

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

29. Preaching at Paul's Cross	275
30. Title page of Salesbury's Welsh Testament ..	286
31. Title page of Welsh Prayer Book of 1586 ..	288
31. Diolch am yr Efengyl	291
33. Archbishop Whitgift	296
34. Title page of Bishop Morgan's Welsh Bible ..	303
35. Facsimile autographs of Bishops Farrar, Richard and Thomas Davies, William Morgan, Richard Parry, and William Salesbury	309

PART IV.

CHAPTER XXX.

JAMES I.

James I.—Dr. Williams and the “Gunpowder Plot.”—Death of Bishop Morgan.—Bishop Parry and Dr. John Davies—Welsh Bible of 1620—Arch-deacon Prys.—Bishop Bayly’s “Practice of Piety.”—Rowland Vaughan of Caergai—Vicar Lloyd of Chirk 311

CHAPTER XXXI.

CHARLES I.

The Welsh and the Stuarts—Bishop Laud’s “Returns.”—State of the Welsh Dioceses—Laud’s “Administration”—“Canwyll y Cymry”—Vicar Prichard—Archbishop Laud—Charles I.—Archbishop Williams—Westminster Abbey—Bishop Griffith Williams 321

CHAPTER XXXII.

CROMWELL.

Independents—Dr. John Owen—Bishop Jeremy Taylor—Barebone’s Parliament—A Welsh Wedding—The Marriage Service—Parliamentary Enactments—Desecration of Churches—Further Enactments—Sufferies of the Clergy—Vavasor Powell—Bishop Owen—Death of Cromwell .. 336

CHAPTER XXXIII.

CHARLES II.

Bishop George Griffith—Baptism by Immersion—Welsh Church not alien—Whig and Tory—The Seven Bishops—Bishop Bull—His Welsh Bible 352

CHAPTER XXXIV.

WILLIAM AND MARY.

The Nonjuring Bishops—Bishops Thomas and Lloyd—Foundation of S.P.C.K.—Queen Anne’s Bounty—Elis Wyn—Bishop Bull—Welsh Charity Schools 359

CHAPTER XXXV.

GEORGE I AND II.

English Bishops for Wales.—Bishop Hoadley.—The Bangorian Controversy.—Bishop Butler.—Griffith Jones, Llanddowror.—His Writings.—His Circulating Schools.—Madam Bevan’s Charity.—Goronwy Owen. .. 369

CHAPTER XXXVI.

GEORGE III, GEORGE IV, AND WILLIAM IV.

Abuse of Patronage—Ieuan Brydydd Hir—Dr. Johnson on the Welsh language—Rowlands, Llangeitho—Religious Revivals—Williams, Pantycelyn—Howell Harris—Thomas Charles—"Rules and Objects"—Founding of the British and Foreign Bible Society—Gwallter Mechain—National Society—Methodist Secession of 1811—The term "Methodist"—John Wesley—John Elias—The Ministry—S. Davids' College—Bishop Burgess—Welsh Preaching

380

CHAPTER XXXVII.

VICTORIA,

An Act of Parliament dealing with Church Patronage in Wales—Restoration of Churches—The Parish Clerk—The Oxford Movement—Isaac Williams—Ieuan Glan Geirionydd—Alun—Bishop Heber—Bishops Thirlwall—Ollivant and Campbell—The Earl of Powis—Act for the Union of the Sees of Bangor and S. Asaph—Llandovery College and its Wardens—Dean Cotton—Mr Gladstone and Disestablishment—Bishops Short and Hughes—Elementary Education Act of 1870—The Welsh Church Press—Dean Edwards—The Welsh character of Westminster Abbey—A new Burial Law—Tercentenary of the Welsh Bible—Bishop Morgan Monument—Welsh Disestablishment Bill—Mr Gladstone as a Churchman and Theologian—"The bees will return to the old hive again"

405

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

36. Archdeacon Prys	315
37. Bala Lake	317
38. Caergai	318
39. Llanuwchllyn Church	319
40. Vicar Pritchard Preaching	327
41. Archbishop Laud	328
42. Archbishop Williams	333
43. Dr. John Owen	338
44. Bishop Jeremy Taylor	340
45. A Welsh Wedding	342
46. Bishop Lloyd	363
47. Bishop Butler	374
48. Mary Jones' Bible	393
49. Thomas Charles of Bala	396
50. John Wesley	398
51. Bishop Burgess	402
52. Pulpit, Pew, Parish Clerk	408
53. Isaac Williams	410
54. Ieuan Glan Geirionydd	412
55. Alun	413
56. Bishop Heber	413
57. Earl of Powis	417
58. Llandovery College and its Wardens	421
59. Bishop Morgan Monument	435
60. Mr. Gladstone reading the Lessons in Hawarden Church	440

The Church of the Cymry.

ROMAN PERIOD B.C. 55 TO A.D. 450.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

THAT part of our country now called England and Wales was known in the old world as Britannia. The explorer Pythias, a contemporary of Alexander the Great, B.C. 380, made two voyages of discovery to Britain, and wrote on the agricultural resources of the country, and of the manners and customs of the natives. The Phœnicians carried on a trade chiefly in tin, lead, and skins, with the British tribes dwelling on the borders of the Bristol Channel.

About B.C. 55, Julius Cæsar, who at that time commanded the Roman armies in Gaul, determined on the attempt, which was twice made, to conquer Britain; but as he only gained a footing in the southern parts, it can hardly be said that he conquered the island. "He did not," as Tacitus observes, "conquer Britain, but only showed it to the Romans." The country was not really conquered till A.D. 84, after a series of terrible wars extending over a period of forty one years, dating from the year 43, when Claudius Cæsar invaded the island.

In his history of the Gallic wars, Julius Cæsar gives a full account of the religion, manners, and customs, of the ancient Britons, who, we are told, were rude and warlike tribes, badly sheltered, clad in skins and tattooed. In their resistance to the Roman invasion they gave unmistakable proofs of great bravery in battle—and the Roman historians agree in their testimony to the fierceness of the struggle—notwithstanding that they were in every way unequally matched against the invaders; for their long and unwieldy weapons, chiefly made of copper and tin, were of a frail and rude kind as compared to the well-tempered steel swords and javelins of the Romans; so that patriotism and undisciplined valour gave way before the superior force of well-trained courage and military skill.

The religion of the Ancient Britons was Druidism, which in its leading idea seems to have inherited the typical note of the Indo-European or Aryan Creed—a profound and moral Naturalism. The religious rites of the Druids, remarkable for their veneration of the mistletoe, were exercised in the groves of oak which then covered the country. The very name of Druidism, in Welsh ‘*Derwyddiaeth*,’ has been derived from *derw*, the Welsh word for oak, because so much of the religion of the Druids centred in the oak. The term is not, however, derived from *derw*, but from the Celtic *Drai*. The Irish word for Druid, the equivalent of the Welsh *Derwydd* (Druid) is *draoi*, genitive *druadh*, which, in Irish literature mostly means a magician or soothsayer, and is usually rendered by *magus* in the lives of Irish saints written in Latin.*

The secrecy which was so marked a feature in the Druidical religion leaves us without much authentic record of its creed, beyond what Julius Cæsar and Tacitus have written on the subject. Among the cardinal points of doctrine of Druidism

* *Lectures on Welsh Philology* (Rhys) 32.

may be mentioned the belief in the existence of a Supreme Being, whom the Druids called the "Unknown;" and a belief in the immortality of the soul—rays of light shining in the darkness, though the darkness comprehended it not as foreshadowing the Light which was to light every man that cometh into the world. With their altars raised to the "Unknown God," the disciples of the Druids were not altogether unprepared to hear the Christian interpretation, "whom ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you."

Among some of the names of the Deity known to the Ancient Britons before the introduction of Christianity, the following may be mentioned ; Duw (God), Deon (Distributer), Dovydd (Governor), Yr Hen Ddihenydd (the Ancient of Days), Celi (the mysterious One), Ior (the Eternal), Peryv (He that pervadeth all things), Rheen (the author of Existence.)¹

Druidical sacrifices consisted of those animals which were of the least ferocity of disposition ; and this was a religious co-operation with divine benevolence in hastening them along that course, which they must pass through before they can arrive at happiness. The death of criminals who surrendered themselves voluntarily was also considered sacrificial, inasmuch as they did thereby all in their power to compensate for their crimes.² Druidism taught the necessity of human sacrifices, and men and women, as well as innocent children, were slain as sacrifices to appease the wrath of the "Great Unknown"—a testimony like the prophecy of Caiaphas, "that it was expedient that one man should die for the people," to the necessity of an Atonement for the sins of the human race.

1. Ab Ithel's *Ecc. Antiq. of the Cymry*.

2. *Ethical Triads* quoted in Ab Ithel's *Eccl. Antiq.*

When a human sacrifice was offered, the priest pouring a libation upon the victim, smote him upon the breast, near the throat; and on his falling, both from the manner of the fall and from the convulsions of his limbs, and still more from the flowing of his blood, they presaged what would come to pass.



Druidical Priest offering a human sacrifice.

The Druids were divided into three Orders: (1) Druids, properly so called: (2) Bards, and (3) Ovates. The first

Order united a secular with ecclesiastical authority, regulated all public affairs, presided over the mysteries of religion, offering all grand expiatory sacrifices, and masters of religious ceremonies. These services were performed within the circles of unwrought stone altars, and in the most public and convenient situations; and consisted chiefly in the offering of sacrifices and prayers, while the people observed strict silence. The worshippers were summoned together on these occasions by the blowing of a horn (the corn gwlad), and their meetings were protected by the laws of the land.¹

The decision of the Druids in matters of life and death was final: but they were all subject to one Arch-Druid, elected by a majority from their own number. An Arch-Druid occupied the position of a pope or primate, and his supremacy was life-long: his person was regarded sacred, and the power of excommunicating and deposing kings at his pleasure depended on his own will, which was absolute. The Bards, the sacred order of the Druids, were priests, national teachers, poets, and musicians, and the education of children of all ranks was committed to them. They sang on public occasions the noble exploits of their heroes, in verses of their own composition, with the harp as an accompaniment. At solemn religious ceremonies they sang hymns. The Ovates devoted themselves to the study of physic, natural philosophy, astronomy, magic, divination and augury. The three orders had their respective costumes (Triad 233), and were symbolical of their several offices. The Druid wore a linen robe of pure white, flowing down from the shoulders to the ankles, differing in shape from the modern surplice, in that one side folded over the other in front, and was fastened by a loop and button at the shoulder, like a cassock. The sleeves were also open on the upper side, along the arm as

1. Myv. Arch. vol. iii; Laws of Dyvnwal Moelmud.

far as the shoulder, disclosing a tunic or white jacket underneath, which had tight sleeves, with cuffs turned up at the wrists, and cut in points.¹ The Druids wore their hair short and their beards long. The Bards wore a sky blue robe, an emblem of peace. "A Bard is known by his unicoloured garment: for truth is unicoloured."² An Ovate wore a green garment—an emblem of nature, the mysteries of which were his special study.

The so-called Druidism of the present day, in connection with the Gorsedd of the National Eisteddfod of Wales, dates no further back than the 12th century, and was a futile attempt by the Welsh Bards of the middle ages to revive certain Druidical ideas. We find no reference to the Gorsedd in our older writings; and in the account of the first historic Eisteddfod held by the Lord Rhys in Cardigan Castle in the year 1176, there is no mention of the Gorsedd, which is probably a much later invention of the Bards of Glamorgan.



Remains of Druid Temple, Stonehenge.

The chief temple of the Druids was at Stonehenge, on Salisbury Plain, and originally consisted of an outer circle of thirty stones 14 feet high, and upon the tops of them was

1. James' Patriarchal Religion of Britain. 75.

2. A Triad of Bardism.

carried a continuous impost of large flat stones of the same width. Within this was another circle of 83 feet, consisting of smaller stones, without imposts, and about the same in number as the outer circle. Within the inner circle were five distinct erections, each consisting of two very large stones with an impost, with three smaller stones in advance of each. The circles were called "doom-rings," or circles of judgment : the flat stones of the interior were the "cromlechs," or the altars on which the victims were sacrificed, and are great stone scaffolds raised high enough to render the whole visible to the greatest number of people.

The Island of Mona, now Anglesey,¹ whither the Druids fled in the time of the Emperor Claudius, ranked next in importance to Stonehenge as a Druidical centre ; and the annual meeting of the states was held there. The island is still known in the vernacular as "Ynys Môn," or the "Isle of Mona," and Sir Fôn, or Mona-shire, frequently spoken of as "Môn, Mam Cymru," or "Mona, the Mother of Wales,"—a title which gives precedence to Anglesey above the other Welsh counties—and "Hen Ynys y Derwyddon," or "The Old Isle of the Druids." It was at Moelydon, now the ferry over that part of the Menai Straits that runs between Plas Newydd woods and Port Dinorwic, that the Druids were last seen (A.D. 61.), as they stood on the shore of the Anglesey coast, watching the preparations of the Roman general Paulinus on the Carnarvonshire side of the straits, to cross over, invoking the vengeance of Heaven upon the invaders. Their prayer was, however, of no avail to avert their approaching doom, for they were all put to the sword ; and the massacre, the burning and demolishing of altars, and the

1. The Anglo-Saxons gave it the name of Anglesey, or the Isle of the Angles, about the year 613, after the Battle of Chester. There is a tradition in Anglesey—which was once covered with trees and now almost bare—that the English cut down the trees to pursue and kill the Welsh.

destruction of the sacred groves which followed, exterminated Druidism as a system in Britain. It left a relic of its existence on the very spot of its extinction in the cromlechs still existing in Plas Newydd woods¹—the most perfect out of thirty similar remains in different parts of the island.²

The Roman authorities tolerated all religious beliefs among the subjects, as long as they were considered of no danger to the safety of the Empire. But Druidism being a secret society, wielding secular as well as religious authority, came at once under the ban of the Emperors. Its extermination stamped out of Britain its political as well as religious organization, and brought the country directly under the civilizing influence of Roman rule, which, in the wisdom and goodness of God, prepared the hearts and the minds of the Britons to take upon them the yoke of Christ, and to learn of Him, whose yoke is easy and whose burden is light.

1. "In the woods are some very remarkable druidical antiquities. Behind the house of Plas Newydd are to be seen two vast cromlechs. The upper stone is twelve feet seven inches long, twelve broad, and four thick, supported by five tall stones. The other is but barely separated from the first; is almost a square of five feet and a half, and supported by four stones. The number of supporters to cromlechs are merely accidental, and depend on the size or form of the incumbent stone. These are the most magnificent we have, and the highest from the ground: for a middle sized horse may easily pass under the largest." Pennants' *Tours in Wales*. Vol. ii. 236.

2. The following list of the Anglesey cromlechau, with the names of the parishes in which they were found, is taken from the "*Cambrian Register*" for 1796. Vol. ii. p. 288, 289.

(1) Llanedwen, two cromlechs at Plas-newydd, described above: (2) Llanidan, one at Bodowyr. one at Myfyrion, one altar at Bodlew, one at Rhos-y-ceryg, one artificial mound at Bryncelli, and a long extended cavern beneath it, one artificial mound in the skirts of Plas-newydd wood, commonly called Bryn-yr-hen-bobl, supposed to have been a druidical sepulchral ground: (3) Llanfadwrn, one cromlech at Trevor: (4) Llanfairmathafarneithaf, two cromlechs at Rhosfawr, one at Marian, Pantaer, one at Llechtâl, now demolished: (5) Penrhos-llugwy, one at Llugwy (just by the road), and one at Parciau, near Fedw-isaf: (6) Llanfihangel-tre'r-beirdd, three on Bodafon mountain: (7) Llanbabo, two at Bod Deiniol: (8) Llanfihangel, one at Cromlech: (9) Llanfihangel, one on Ty-newydd land, one partly demolished on Mynydd-y-cnw, and three small altars near the river Crygyl: (10) Llanfihangel-yn-neubwll, one near Ty Gwyn Trewen: (11) Llanallgo, one near Llanallgo: (12) one at Cremlyn. Total 30.

CHAPTER II.

INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY INTO BRITAIN.

*"Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita."*¹

Tertullian, Adv. Jud. vii. (about A.D. 208.)

THE early introduction of Christianity into Britain is a fact clearly established. But the date of that important epoch in the history of our country, as well as the names of those who first proclaimed on our shores "the good tidings of great joy," are lost in the twilight of fable. The founding of the ancient British Church was not the work of a day nor of a generation, judging of it by the criterion of the comparatively slow progress of foreign mission work in our own time. The spread of Christianity in early as compared with modern times, was, indeed, exceptionally rapid, notwithstanding our modern inventions of printing, the telegraph, and locomotion by steam on sea and land. "According to the irreproachable testimony of Origen (Origen Contra Celsum i.—viii. 424), the proportion of the faithful was very inconsiderable, when compared with the multitude of an unbelieving world: but, as we are left without any distinct information, it is impossible to determine, and it is difficult even to conjecture the real numbers of the primitive Christians. The most favourable calculation, however, that can be deduced from the

1. "The regions of Britain inaccessible to the Romans, are subject to Christ."

examples of Antioch and Rome will not permit us to imagine that more than a twentieth part of the subjects of the Empire had enlisted themselves under the banner of the Cross before the important conversion at Constantine."¹

The work of evangelizing Britain was in all respects of a missionary character. The missionaries penetrated into remote and unfrequented districts—inaccessible, according to Tertullian, even to the Romans—and their habits of piety, faith, zeal, devotion and self-denial testified to their earnestness—for the life is the test of faith—and contributed largely to the success of their mission ; for they counted not their lives dear unto them, but rather rejoiced that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for the name of Christ. There can, however, be no doubt that, humanly speaking, the net work of Roman roads opened up the country for traffic, the stately palaces that studded the land, the cities and garrison towns that were built at important centres, helped greatly towards the development of early British Christianity, bringing in their train, as they did, the blessings of civilization and peace. "The Roman Empire was the third foundation stone of the Christian Religion : for its vast extent facilitated in a singular manner the early and very rapid diffusion of Christianity and formed, indeed, the ground walk on which the fabric of the new Church was constructed."²

Cæsar tells that there were towns in Britain when he invaded the country. "The number of their towns was great," he writes ; but in describing them he adds, "that the Britons called that a town where they had been used to assemble for

1. Gibbon : "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," i. 377.

2. Schlegel : "Philosophy of History," p. 289.

the purpose of avoiding the incursion of the enemy, when they had fortified the entangled woods with a rampart and a ditch." Traces of these British towns may still be seen all over the country. But these rude collections of huts, and earthen walls could hardly be called a town, and it was not until the Romans established themselves in Britain that towns in the real sense of the word, came into existence. The conquerors sometimes built their walled towns on the sites of early British encampments and fortifications. Towns built by the Romans were of regular shape, bounded by lines as straight as the nature of the ground would permit. All places in England the names of which are compounded of *castor*, *cester* or *Chester*, and in Wales of *caer* (Latin *castra* a camp) were Roman military stations, e.g. Worcester (*Caer-wrangan*) and Caernarvon were Roman stations of this kind.

Apart from the military annals of the Roman conquerors, there are no accredited British chroniclers until the time of Gildas, who wrote towards the end of the sixth century; and he frankly admits that the information of what he relates as having taken place anterior to his time, was obtained by him from books "written beyond seas." The history of British Christianity during the first 300 years is largely based on the records of heathen Rome; occasional references in the writings of the early Fathers—Tertullian, Origen, Sozomen and Eusebius (A.D. 200—300 and onwards); Prudentius, Orosius, Socrates, Porphyrius, Augustine, and Theodoret, refer to the British Church or British Christians in a general way, A. D. 400—423.¹ Much of the oral traditions respecting early British Christianity are preserved in the Welsh Triads,²

1. Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents (Haddan and Stubbs) i. 12.

2. The Triads speak of "three holy families of the Isle of Britain: the first, the family of Bran the blessed, who brought the faith of Christ into this island from Rome, where he had been in prison"

which are, however, more interesting than reliable.¹ But the traditions of the Welsh Triads, like traditions in general, contain much that is true, as well as much that is doubtful. For example, the tradition that Christianity was first introduced into Britain by released British prisoners of war, said to have learnt the faith from S. Paul, their fellow-prisoner in Rome, has a colouring of probability viewed in the light of contemporary Roman history. Tacitus, the Roman historian, testifies that Britons were carried prisoners to Rome.



Caradoc in Rome.

Among these was Caradoc, called by the Romans Carac-

1. "The Historical Triads have been obviously put together at very different times. Some allude to circumstances about the first population and early history of the island, of which every other memorial has perished. The Triads were noticed by Camden with respect. Mr Vaughan, the antiquary of Hengwrt, refers them to the seventh century. Some may be the records of more recent date. I think them the most curious, on the whole, of all the Welsh remains."—*A Vindication of the Ancient British Poems* by Sharon Turner, F.A.S., 1803, p. 131

"The Triades of the Isle of Britain, as they are called, are some of the most curious and valuable fragments preserved in the Welsh language. They relate of persons and events from the earliest times to the beginning of the seventh century".—*The Heroic Elegies, &c., of Llywarch Hen*, by Wm. Owen, p. viii.

tacus, who after a brave resistance on *Caer Caradoc*, *Shropshire*, A.D. 40, was taken prisoner to Rome. At the sight of the grandeur of the city this British chieftain exclaimed, "How could a people possessed of such a magnificent home envy me a humble cottage in Britain?" As he stood in chains before *Claudius*, the Emperor was so impressed with the manly bearing of this British captive that he ordered his release, with permission to return home to rule his tribe as a subject prince. The time of *Caradoc's* detention in Rome was, in part, contemporaneous with the imprisonment of *S. Paul*; and as the Apostle speaks of his access to the Court, and of the saints "chiefly those that are of *Cæsar's* household," (*Phil. iv. 22.*), the tradition of the *Triads* bears some marks of probability, that certain British hostages were identical with the friends of *S. Paul*, who bore the same name. The reference by the Roman poet, *Martial*, in his ode, wherein he extols the character of *Claudia*—a British lady who was married to *Pudens*, one of the earliest Roman governors of Britain—agrees with the reference by *S. Paul* in *2 Tim. iv. 21.* Assuming that the Apostle and the heathen poet refer to the same people, it may be fairly inferred that *Pudens* was a Christian—an inference justified by *Martial* speaking of him as *Claudia's* 'saintly husband'—Christians being generally addressed as "saints" in the early days of Christianity. But the *Triads* say that *Llin* (*Linus*) and *Gwladys* (*Claudia*) were the children of *Caradoc*, who with *Bran*, became his hostages, and that on their return to Britain, they preached and promoted Christianity. This tradition points, at least, to the fact that the Roman Conquest had brought Celtic Britain into direct communication with Rome, the centre of government and civilization.

The introduction of Christianity into Britain has been ascribed to at least ten different causes;¹ all, more or less,

1. *S.S. Paul, Peter, Simon, Zelotes, Philip, James, John, Aristobulus, Joseph of Arimathea, James the Great, Bran.*

founded on conjecture, and therefore useless to discuss seriously as having any real foundation in fact. But the colouring of piety and poetry with which some of the legends has been painted on the canvass of fiction form, as it were, such a haze of sanctity around the names of those, who, until days comparatively recent, were piously believed for many long centuries to be the first pioneers of British Christianity, that it may not be out of place to dwell on such of these traditions as have lingered longest in the affections of the Cymry.

The words of S. Paul, "Whensoever I take my journey into Spain, I will come to you," (Rom. xv. 24), have been construed into a probability, not to say a certainty, that the visit to Spain was extended to Britain. So the writings of the early Fathers would lead us to suppose. Of the five years that lapsed between the close of S. Paul's imprisonment and his martyrdom there is no record of his journeys; but S. Clement and others, tell us that he went to the boundaries of the West. Tertullian, A.D. 193, writes, "For in whom else have all the nations believed but in Christ? Parthians, Medes, Elamites, all the coasts of Spain, the various nations of Gaul, and the parts inaccessible to the Romans, but now subject to Christ." The closing words of this extract have reference to Britain. Eusebius, speaking of the propagation of the Gospel, says, that "some passed over the ocean to those parts which are called the British Isles." The title, "Trioedd S. Paul," or the "Triads of S. Paul," connects the Apostle's name with Britain, but is no proof that he ever set foot on our shores. Ussher and Stillingfleet, with others, however, believe that the Apostle of the Gentiles did actually first preach Christianity in Britain. But the written reference to this tradition is not earlier than the sixth century, and it is now generally rejected as lacking historical warranty: and may be regarded as the natural result of an

ingenious exercise of the imagination on the part of historians, not insensible to the fact that pride of ancestry shows itself in nations and races as well as in individuals, a remarkable feature in the character of the Cymry ; who, as a people, are imaginative and ready to accept as true any pretty story without troubling to test its accuracy.

The legend of S. Joseph of Arimathea ranks next to that of S. Paul in the Welsh mind. S. Joseph, accompanied by Lazarus, S.S. Mary Magdalene and Martha and Philip, so ran the tradition, journeyed as far as Britain. S. Joseph is said to have carried with him on this, as on all other occasions, the Holy Graal, or Saint Graal, or Sang Real,¹ the cup wherein our Lord was said to have consecrated the wine at the Last Supper, and which was said to contain some of the blood that trickled from his wounds on the Cross, and collected by the Angels at the time of the Crucifixion.² The holy group having travelled as far as Marselles, Philip and Lazarus remained there, while S. Joseph with the holy women and twelve other companions, travelled as far as Britain. Landing on the south west coast, they came to the territory of Arviragus, and there preached the Gospel ; and for a testimony to the truth of their mission, pointed to the thorn staff of S. Joseph which blossomed, and became a tree immediately after he had planted it in the ground, near the place where they rested. The king made them a grant of land in the isle of Avalon, called by the natives Ynys Witron, now known as Glastonbury. Here, in obedience to the direction of the angel Gabriel, Joseph built a chapel, after a divine plan given him, and which was dedicated in honour

1. Sometimes derived from the Norman Greal, an earthen cup or vase, and from *sangre*, the Spanish for blood.

2. In some of the earliest representations of the Crucifixion the chalice is pictured under the right foot of the Saviour, to receive the blood from the wounds.—See Farrar's *Life of Christ*—697.

of the Blessed Virgin. The building was constructed of wattles and wreathed twigs, plastered with mud; and our Lord was said to have conferred upon it the special honour of consecrating it Himself. Though the most credulous would now put no faith in this legend, there can be no doubt that the claims of Glastonbury to be the site of the first British church in our island are strong. And it derives an additional interest from the fact, that it is the one great ecclesiastical foundation of British origin which has preserved its unbroken continuity throughout the destructive period of the English Conquest. Who first founded the Church there we shall never know, but evidences of a belief in the legend of S. Joseph are deeply inscribed on the ornate, and still existing ruins of the dismantled buildings.

Many considerations seem to point to the conclusion that it is to the Greek colony of Lyons that Britain owes the foundation of its church. The date of this extension of the Church by way of Lyons to Britain can be ascertained with tolerable exactness. The persecution in Rome and Asia Minor, numbering among its victims such distinguished sufferers as Justin Martyr and Polycarp, had died out, when in A.D. 177, it broke out with increased severity in Southern Gaul.¹ The probable date of the founding of the British Church would be immediately anterior to this, if not coincident therewith. The close relationship existing between the Gallican and British Churches point to the fact that the latter regarded the former as the mother church; and the number of British churches dedicated under Gallican names—e.g. S. Martin, S. Germanus, and S. Lupus—shows that these saints were held in high esteem by the daughter church in Britain. Gildas, the British historian, who wrote about A.D. 550, offers no explanation of the origin of the early

¹, *Ancient British Church* (Pryce) 60.

British Church, but admits that if any records ever existed of his own country, they had been destroyed in the fires of the enemy, or conveyed by his exiled countrymen into foreign lands. Gibbon speaks of the testimony of Justin Martyr (A.D. 140), that every country known to the Romans contained Christians "as a splendid exaggeration, which even at present it would be extremely difficult to reconcile with the real state of mankind, and can be considered only as the rash sally of a devout but careless writer, the measure of whose belief was regulated by that of his wishes."¹ But Irenaeus (A.D. 169), refers to Christian Churches established among the Celts, in which British tribes would probably be included: and Tertullian (A.D. 208),—the great apologist of Christianity—testifies that the regions of Britain inaccessible to the Romans were subject to Christ. The presence of three British bishops at the Council of Arles (A.D. 314), and possibly at that of Nicea (A.D. 325)—whose profession of Faith is recited in our Communion Office, and is a link connecting the Anglican Communion to the Church Catholic—shows that the British Church must have been founded long before these councils—probably not later than the time of Justin Martyr—for the growth of her organization was not the work of a day nor of a generation, whereby she was represented in the early councils of the Church Catholic. And her orthodoxy is sufficiently attested by the fact that she signified by letter not later than A.D. 363, to S. Augustine, her adhesion to the Nicene Creed.²

1. "Decline and Fall," i. 376.

2. Councils, &c., (H. & S.) i. 10.

CHAPTER III.

THE DIOCLETIAN PERSECUTION, A.D. 303—313.

"The blood of the saints is the seed of the Church."—

Proverb.

THE Diocletian persecution began at Nicomedia in Asia Minor, where the Emperor lived, on the 23rd Feb. 303, and lasted ten years. The policy of the Roman Government was, as a rule, to deal tolerantly with the various religious creeds of the Empire ; but it assumed a stern and intolerant attitude towards Christianity. This was partly due to the fact that the early Christians spoke of their religion as a kingdom, which at once came into collision with the Roman idea of loyalty, as it did in the case of our Lord. A kingdom, indeed, but not of this world. Following the precept of their Master, Christians prayed daily, "Thy kingdom come ;" and the early Christians looked with intense earnestness to the almost immediate realization of their aspiration, that "the kingdoms of this world should become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ ; and that he should reign for ever and ever." The secret assemblies, too, of the early Christians for the purpose of religious worship, forbidden by the Diocletian edict, roused the suspicion of a conspiracy to establish the kingdom of the Crucified. But their religious meetings were so held of necessity from fear of persecution ; for, like the Maccabean martyrs before them, the Christians were "destitute, afflicted, tormented, (of whom

the world was not worthy), they wandered in deserts, and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth."¹

Far removed from the centre of the Roman Government, Britain enjoyed comparative freedom from the fury of the Diocletian persecution ; for it was in the East that it raged most and lasted longest, and it was not much felt in Europe after the first two years. Add to this that Constantius, who at this time was Roman Governor of Britain, was a man of gentle and humane temper ; and he pitied and abhorred the sufferings of the Christians,—and we hear of none that suffered at Eboracum, or York, where Constantius himself lived. Moreover, he had married a Christian lady, Helena, the daughter of Coel Godebrog, King of Colchester, of which marriage was born Constantine the Great, A.D. 274, in the imperial palace of York, wherein his father Constantius died A.D. 306. Helena² probably influenced her husband in favour of her fellow-Christians; but we are not told that Constantius himself ever embraced Christianity. Although bound to enforce the edicts of Diocletian, Eusebius, a contemporary historian, tells us that Constantius was so impressed with the large number of professing Christians in Britain that, in most cases, he withheld the enforcement of the death penalty, and confined the operation of the edicts to the destruction of churches,—“mere walls,” as Lactantius, a contemporary Christian Father, writes, “which could be restored ; but preserved in safety the temple of God, which is in man,”—the burning of Christian books, and forbidding to preach Christ-

1. Heb. xi. 37, 38.

2. “In the third century, Elen went in search of, and ‘found the blessed cross, after it had been concealed in the earth by the Jews,’ near Jerusalem.—*Genealogy of the Saints*. And it is supposed, that it was in reference to this circumstance that the cross was inserted into the arms of the city of Colchester.

ianity. This is evidence of the consolidation of the British Church to that extent A.D. 303, that she possessed clergy, churches and the Holy Scriptures, with a living Faith burning in the hearts of her members that they met death fearlessly in its worst form. History has handed down the name of Alban, the proto-martyr of the British Church who, according to one account, was born at Verulam in the latter half of the third century, and descended from a noble British family and educated in Rome. According to another account, probably the correct one, Alban was a Roman by birth. Had any native Christians suffered martyrdom during the Diocletian persecution, it would be difficult to account for the preference given by their descendants to the memory of the Roman martyrs. The early British Church held the name of S. Alban in great honour, as appears from the reference made by Matthew Paris to the discovery of a book in the ruins of ancient Verulam in the tenth century containing the Life of S. Alban, written in the ancient British character and dialect, which the natives used when Verulam was inhabited by them.¹ The Britons generally, and the Cymry in particular, escaped the fury of the Diocletian persecution. "The proto-martyr of the Cambrian Church was Dyvan, and the Church of Merthyr Dyvan still indicates the fact, and the exact spot where the saint fell."²

Himself a pagan when the Diocletian persecution began, Alban, from pure motives of humanity, sheltered a poor persecuted Christian priest of the name of Amphibalus, whose continued habits of prayer and watching day and night so impressed Alban, that he embraced the Faith of his guest. Discovering the hiding place of Amphibalus the authorities

1. Ussher's Britain Eccles. Antiq. 80,

2. Ab Ithel's Eccles. Antiq. of the Cymry, 79.

sent to apprehend him. At the approach of the soldiers Alban sent his guest away clad in his own long cloak, while he himself, disguised in the priest's clothes, surrendered himself. When brought before the judge Alban was threatened with the punishment due to Christians; but no threats could move him, and he avowed himself a disciple of Jesus. He was sentenced to be beheaded, which, according to the martyrologies, took place June 22nd,¹ A.D. 303 or 4. The story is given at length by Bede, founded on the shorter but earlier account of Gildas, with the later legends current in Bede's time. As Alban was led to the place of execution,—described as a little grassy knoll, rising gently on one side of the town of Verulam, and about 500 paces from the bank of the river, adorned with sweet flowers and noble trees—the executioner was so moved by the saint's gentle behaviour that he threw down his sword, and desired to share his martyrdom. They were both beheaded on the very spot on which tradition says the north transept of S. Alban's Abbey now stands. Here are enshrined the remains of S.S. Alban and Amphibalus, to whose tombs pilgrimages were made for centuries from all parts of Christendom.

Tradition has it that Amphibalus on his escape from the house of S. Alban, returned to his native city of Caerleon-on-Usk, where he preached with marvellous success. As the result of the martyrdom of S. Alban, about a thousand of the men of Verulam travelled into Wales, and were baptized by Amphibalus. This so enraged the heathen inhabitants that they pursued the converts into Wales, and put them all to death. Amphibalus was made captive, taken

1. In the Gallican Martyrology S. Alban is commemorated on the 22nd of June, the supposed date of his martyrdom. In the calendar of the Church of England he is commemorated on the 17th June.

back, and stoned to death at Rudburn, three miles from S. Alban's. More than eight hundred years after the event, in the time of Henry ii., his supposed remains, with those of nine of his companions, are said to have been found under



The Shrine of S. Alban.

the guidance of S. Alban, who is said to have appeared to one Robert Mercer, a citizen of S. Alban's, and conducted him to the spot where the precious relics lay, when they were removed to the Abbey by the Abbot Simon, and laid to rest in the lady chapel near those of his friend S. Alban.¹

1. Mathew Paris, *His. Minor*, vol. i. 401—409 (Madden Ed. 1866).

The names of S.S. Aaron and Julius—citizens of the Roman colony of Caerleon-on-Usk—are handed down as martyrs, who suffered during the Diocletian persecution at Caerleon-on-Usk. Walter de Mapes, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and Giraldus Cambrensis say that grand churches were dedicated at Caerleon under the names of Aaron and Julius; that the one connected with the name of Aaron had attached to it a famous order of canons, and the one bearing the name of Julius an institution of nuns. There is a reference to these churches in the Book of Llandav; and Bishop Godwin (A.D. 1601—18) writes that traces of them remained in his time. The church of Llanharan, Glamorganshire, is considered as dedicated under the name of Aaron.

As the darkest hour immediately precedes the dawn, so the Diocletian persecution, the tenth, the last, and the severest from that of Nero, was the hour and the power of darkness; after which the day-spring from on high visited the Christians, and opened to them the glorious light of the liberty of the sons of God. It was, indeed, the light at evening-time,¹ when Constantine, who, before the close of the persecution had succeeded to his share in the Empire, treated the Christians with greater kindness. In the year 312, he marched against Maxentius, who had usurped the Government of Italy and Africa. On his way to battle, Constantine saw in the sky a wonderful vision in the form of a Cross,² with the words "By this conquer" around it.

1. Zech. xix. 7.

2. The popular story runs that as he was one evening marching against his rival, he saw a cross in the sky with the inscription in Greek characters, "By this conquer." Doubtful of the meaning of the vision he fell asleep; and in the silence of the night the Saviour appeared to him bearing a cross similar to that which he had seen in the heavens, and commanded

Having defeated Maxentius, Constantine commanded the cross to be put on the Roman standards, and it formed the impress on many coins. He also erected a statue of himself in Rome with a cross in its right hand, and which bore an inscription to the effect that he attributed his victory over Maxentius to that sacred sign. This was, indeed, the victory of the cross—the victory that transformed the world. Britain gave, in the person of Constantine the Great,¹ the first Christian Emperor who placed Christianity on the throne of the Roman world. The alliance thus effected for the first time between Church and State was a national recognition of Christianity, the importance of which, in its beneficial effects on the subjects at large, could hardly be over-estimated. The victory was on the side of the Church, for she created a new State on a Christian basis. Having occupied the heart of the Empire, the influence of the Church's teaching pervaded the whole constitution, the throbbings of which in its life-giving effects, were as powerful as the pulsations of the heart in the individual life. The gain to the State by this alliance was collectively the same in kind, but greater in degree, as it is to the individual to be a Christian. And if it be a noble thing to be a Christian, it

him to frame one of the same shape, and use it for his standard in battle. Awaking, he obeyed the command, gained a complete victory over Maxentius, and openly declared himself a convert to Christianity. —See *Euseb. de Vit. Constant.* lib. ii, c. 28, 29. and *Sozomen.*

1. "The fame of Constantine has rendered posterity attentive to the most minute circumstances of his life and actions. The place of his birth (A.D. 274), as well as the condition of his mother Helena, have been the subject not only of literary but national disputes. Notwithstanding the recent tradition, which assigns for her father a British king, we are obliged to confess that Helena was the daughter of an innkeeper, but at the same time we may defend the legality of her marriage against those who have represented her as the concubine of Constantius. The Great Constantine was most probably born at Naissus in Dacia."—Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, &c., i. 300. Camden and Ussher, weighty authorities, however, favour the theory of Helena's royal British origin.

follows that the profession of Christianity by the State is not less noble. And so it was from the time of the conversion of Constantine that his subjects enjoyed the full benefit of the alliance between Church and State ; for "Christianity in England, looked at by the eyes of history, means not only the knowledge of God and his Salvation by Christ Jesus ; it carries with it, besides, all that is implied in civilization, national growth and national duty."¹ Constantine being the son of a daughter of a British King, he at once claimed and obtained the allegiance of the Britons on his accession to the imperial throne. And although he does not seem to have had any fixed creed immediately before his victory over Maxentius, Welshmen may feel a just pride in the thought, that the influence of his Christian mother over Constantine was not without its good effects in after life. "Here we have a Welsh-woman and her son much spoken of, and commemorated with great praise in the Catholic Church throughout Christendom to the end of the world."²

Before the conversion of Constantine Christian missionaries confined their mission, of necessity not of choice, to "the common people," who, as in the case of their Lord, "heard them gladly;" patiently waiting in faith for the leaven to leaven the whole lump, and work up to the surface. If, as Gibbon alleges, Helena, the mother of Constantine, was the daughter of an inn-keeper, this may help to explain how she first became a Christian before she was married to Constantine. However, the conversion of Constantine marks the change into the adoption of the practice

1. Stubbs. "*Early Plantagenets*," Ch. iv. p. 56.

2. Welsh Letter of Canon Griffith Roberts of Milan Cathedral, addressed to the Cymry (1567.) "Dyma Gymraes a'i Mab yn cael son mawr am dannynt, a'i copha drwy fawr glod yn yr Eglwys Gatholic drwy holl gred hyd ar dhiwedd y byd."

of first converting the King and his court, allowing the subjects to follow their example. So it was when Augustine came over A.D. 596 to convert the pagan Saxons, he first converted the King.

Constantine induced his colleague, Licinius, to issue a joint edict, granting to Christianity equal liberty with other religions in the Empire. This was in 313, and closed the Diocletian persecution. The elevation of Constantine to the imperial throne brought with it the decay of Britain as a Roman province ; for all that was best followed him to Rome, and from thence to the new capital which he built in the East on the site of the town of Byzantium, and which he called Constantinople, which means the city of Constantine. This was intended to be entirely a Christian city, unlike Rome, which was full of heathen temples. After this, the Emperor usually resided at Constantinople, or some other place in the East.



Constantine.

“The Welsh Triads ascribe the founding of an archi-episcopal see at York (Caerefrog) to Constantine ;

“The Archbishoprics of the Isle of Britain :”

“The first, Llandaff ; founded by Lleirwg, the son of Coel, the son of Cyllin, who first gave land and national privileges to those who first embraced the faith in Christ.

“The second, York ; founded by the Emperor Constantine,

who was the first of the Roman Emperors who embraced the Christian faith.

"The third, London; founded by the Emperor Macsen Wledig (Maximus.)"¹

Camden, however, asserts that, according to the testimony of native records, York was erected into an episcopal see by Constantius Chlorus.² Whether the see was founded by him or by his son Constantine, there is evidence that the see was in existence in the year 314, when its bishop was present at the Council of Arles A.D. 314, convened by Constantine to suppress the heresy of the Donatists. This council consisted chiefly of British and Gallican bishops. Ussher and Spelman give the names of the British Bishops who attended this council :

(1) "Eborius Episcopus, de civitate Eboracensi, provinciâ Britanniâ. Restitutus Episcopus, de civitate Londinensi, provinciâ suprascriptâ. Adelfius Episcopus, de civitate coloniâ Londinensium,—exinde sacerdos Presbyter, Arminius Diaconus."³ Londinensium is evidently an error, as Williams points out in "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Cymry;"⁴ as there were at this time only three provinces in Britain, and as York and London were the respective capitals of Maxima Caesariensis, and Britannia Prima, it may be reasonably assumed that Bishop Adelfius represented the Roman division of Britannia Secunda, and was Bishop of Caerleon-upon-Usk, in which division it was situate. Adelfius was accompanied by a priest and a deacon from his own diocese, which is

1. Triad 62.

2. P. 473. Edit. 1587.

3. Tom. i. Concilior, Galliæ, edit. Paris, an. 1629, p. 9.

4. p. 82.

evidence of the existence of three orders in the Ministry of the early British Church.

“The blood of the saints is the seed of the church” is a truism as applicable to the history of the British Church in particular as it is to that of the Church in general, and she continued as firm in the orthodox Faith as any church in Christendom. Though it is uncertain whether the British church was represented at the Council of Nicea A.D. 325, convened by the suggestion of Constantine on the question of the Arian heresy, at which there were 318 bishops present, the British bishops signified their adhesion to the decrees of that Council in a letter to Constantine the Great. S. Athanasius speaks of the presence of British bishops at the Council of Sardica, A.D. 347, who supported him against the heresy of Arius. At the Council of Arminium A.D. 356, there were present British bishops who were orthodox, although they hesitated about the term *homoousios*. The hesitation appears from S. Hilary’s tract itself.¹ S. Jerome A.D. 390, speaks of Britain as “worshipping the same Christ, and observing the same rule of faith as other nations.”

1 Councils. H. & S. &c., i. 9.

CHAPTER IV.

DEPARTURE OF THE ROMANS, A.D. 409.

BRITAIN INDEPENDENT, A.D. 409—450.

“Rome,
The slowly-fading mistress of the world”

Tennyson.

AFTER the death of Constantine III. (A.D. 407), the Roman Empire showed unmistakeable signs of decay. Attacked by the fierce tribes of the North, the withdrawal of the imperial legions from all the provinces became necessary in defence of Rome itself. The days of the Empire were, however, numbered ; for the invading forces were victorious over the degenerate Romans. The fall of pagan Rome suggested to S. Augustine the idea of his great work the “City of God,” in which he draws a contrast between Christianity and Paganism, and speaks of the former as changing the whole frame work of society and culminating in the Kingdom of Christ.

The farewell letter of Honorius Caesar addressed to the Britons A.D. 409, was an authority to establish an independent native government, which he himself could neither prevent nor support, and severed a union which had lasted about 400 years. During that period Romans and Britons had intermarried, much the same as English and Welsh people intermarry now ; and the parting was no doubt mutually

regretted, for experience had taught the Britons that they had been conquered to their advantage, and suffered loss to their gain.

The first withdrawal of Roman troops from Britain took place A.D. 409; but the final evacuation did not take place, according to Hume, till the year 448. This deprived the island, as Bede testifies, "of all its armed soldiery, and all its active and flourishing youth." Triad 8 speaks of the evacuation as being so complete, that "none remained in the island, save women and little children nine years of age, and these became Cymry." The weakening results of all this may be well imagined, if we picture to ourselves the withdrawal of all that is elevating in the presence of English influence among us—and English influence for good in Wales at the present day finds a parallel almost in every particular in the history of the Roman occupation of Britain—And though it be unwise to measure ourselves by our-selves, yet, on the other hand, there are features in the Welsh character worthy of emulation, apparent in its religious enthusiasm and freedom from crime.

When the Romans left Britain, the country had been intersected with artificial roads in all directions—remains of which exist unto this day, and excite admiration—and ninety two towns of considerable importance had been built. Among these, thirty three cities (*civitates*) were distinguished above the others by their superior privileges and importance; thirty of these were in England and Wales, and three in Scotland. Two of the whole number, Verulamium (S. Albans) and Eboracum (York), were called *municipia*; Londinium, Rutupiæ, Lindum, and six others, *coloniæ*; Cataractonium, Luguwallium, and eight others, were *Latii jure donatæ*; and the remainder were called *stipendiariæ*. Each of these

cities had its legal constitution, as in other Roman provinces; and the British bishops, who numbered between thirty and forty, had, with their priests and deacons, a recognized position in the country long before the political connection was broken off between Rome and Britain. The country comprised five Provincial Divisions.

1. *Britannia Prima*, that portion of England south of Gloucestershire and the Thames (Tamesis Fl.).

2. *Flavia Caesariensis*, embracing the country between the German Ocean on the East, and the Severn (Sabrina Æst.) and Dee (Deva Fl.) on the West, between the Thames and Avon on the South, and Yorkshire and Lancashire on the North.

3. *Britannia Secunda*, including Wales, and that part of England west of the Severn and the Dee.

4. *Maxima Caesariensis*, bounded on the North by the Vallum Hadriani, and on the South by the limits of Yorkshire and Lancashire, and included the Isle of Man (Mona Caesaris).

5. *Valentia*, or that part of England and Scotland which lay between the Vallum Hadriani, and the Vallum Antonini.

The Roman evacuation left the Britons comparatively defenceless. Having so long trusted to the Romans for protection they could not at once recover that manliness and energy, of which they had given abundant proof at the time of the Roman Conquest. A combined invasion of Britain at the time of the Roman evacuation, forced to the front the question of military leadership among the Britons in succession to the imperial generals, and revived the old custom

of tribal chieftains fighting for supremacy to so great an extent that, in Tennyson's words,

"King Leodogran
Groan'd for the Roman legions here again,
And Caesar's eagle."

The Britons had then to learn the importance of political unity, taught them by the iron hand of Rome,—as the Welsh have yet to learn the importance of religious unity,—and to sink their petty differences and rivalries in the face of a common foe.

One of the most illustrious of the British leaders at this time was Cunedda Wledig—a son of Edeyrn ab Padarn, by Gwawl, sister of Helena the mother of Constantine the Great, and both daughters of Coel Godebog—and he was a munificent patron of the Church. His children followed in his steps in this respect, for they were ranked in the Triads as one of "the three holy families of the Isle of Britain." Ambrose Aurelianus was elected ruler of Lower Britain, while the original patrimony of Cunedda Wledig lay in Cumberland and neighbouring districts. "Gwledig" was the official title of these leaders, which, in Celtic language, means a 'Prince.' Both these leaders were descended from marriages of Roman nobles with the daughters of Celtic chiefs. On their elevation to the dignity of "Gwledig," they had both to contend against the hostility of a faction who endeavoured to re-establish a more primitive form of government. Ambrose showed considerable less power of administration in the South than Cunedda in the North, for the latter succeeded in establishing a kingly title, and wielded power to such an extent that he succeeded in making his sons chiefs of the western tribes, and their names are preserved in the counties of Cambria unto this day. Cunedda so completely established

the supremacy of his family, that the royal succession of every supreme king of Wales could be traced to him for centuries. It was to the Cymry that Cunedda owed his advancement to kingly power. The original meaning of the word "Cymry" is, first or aboriginal people; it afterwards came to be used mutually, in a secondary sense, of "fellow-countrymen," among the Britons forced into the foreign service of the Roman army, to prevent their rebellion against the Emperor in their own country; it came also to be used to distinguish the Celtic troops who defended the Brythons in the highlands. Cunedda was the leader of the Cymry soldiers, and in the north they became the armed defenders of the country against Anglo-Saxon and Gaelic foes; and the territory which they defended was known as "Cumbria" and "Cambria." Though the Cymry were really a number of distinct tribes whose territory answered for the most part to the present counties of Wales, the word came to be used for all Celts beyond the Severn. In the vernacular, Wales is still known as 'Cymru,' and the Welsh as 'Cymry,' rather than 'Gwalia,' the Welsh form of 'Wales,'—the name applied to it by the English as the "land of strangers."

It is difficult to determine the reasons for the settlement of the Teutonic races in Britain. Some contemporary Roman historians speak of the ambition of Roman soldiers in Britain unsuccessfully endeavouring to imitate the conquests of Constantine the Great. Gerontius was one of these, who, to revenge a fancied injury inflicted by one whom he had assisted to attain imperial rank, invited Teutonic soldiers to Britain. This reminds us of the story of Vortigern¹ or

1. The two stories are so like that the Vortigern version is thought by some to be a fabrication from that of Gerontius, especially as Bede and Nennius know nothing of Gerontius, and the Roman historians are equally

‘Gwrtheyrn Gwrtheneu,’ as he is known in Welsh history, and referred to by Gildas, Bede, and Nennius,—who, having been chosen King by the Britons,—invited Hengist and Horsa to assist him in repelling those enemies, the Picts and Scots, whom he himself was unable to drive out of his kingdom. Up to their arrival in A.D. 449, the Celts had successfully defended their country against the incursions of the enemy. But gradually the Teutons, who were thus originally invited over as allies, became more fatal enemies to the Britons than those whom they had been invited to expel. A pretext was soon found for quarelling with Vortigern, and the result of his unwise action was that the Britons were gradually driven into Wales, Cornwall, and Armorica in Gaul, from which Armorica was called Bretagne, or Brittany. The Jutes, Angles and Saxons, in about 150 years established seven kingdoms in the island.

ignorant of Vortigern. But both stories may be true, as there are fully forty years between the periods alleged as the dates of Gerontius and Vortigern.

CHAPTER V.

A.D. 410—429.

THE PELAGIAN HERESY.—The “Hallelujah Victory,”—
S. GARMON.

“Tost iawn chwedl i genedl gam
Fu'r holiad yn Verulam.

* * * * *

Haleluia! Haleluia! lawen,
Ar y gair, ebrwydd y rhwygai'r wybren.”

*Blackwell's Ode on Maesgarmon.*¹

THE Pelagian heresy,² which denied the doctrine of original sin, the necessity of grace and infant baptism, broke out about the year 410, and originated with Pelagius,³

1. “Maesgarmon,” the supposed scene of the “Hallelujah Battle,” was the subject of the Chair Poem at the Mold National Eisteddfod of 1823, to which we owe the celebrated Prize Ode by the eminent Welsh poet Alun, the Rev. J. Blackwell, B.A., (Oxen,) Rector of Manordeifi.

2. Article IX. of our Church is aimed against this heresy. At the time of the Reformation, the Anabaptists appear to have adopted Pelagian opinions. The article on original sin, in the first draft of it as set forth in 1552, begins thus: “Original sin standeth not in the following of Adam, as the Pelagians do vainly talk, which also the Anabaptists do now-a-days renew.” Their rejection of infant baptism was of a piece and naturally connected with their denial of original sin. In later times the Socinians held on this subject thoroughly Pelagian language, and generally denied the corruption of human nature, and the need of grace.—*Harold Browne's Exposition of XXXIX Articles.*

3. The name Pelagius has been erroneously held to be synonymous with “Morgan”=mcr-eni, or sea-born. The learned Dr. John Davies, rector of Mallwyd, the translator into Welsh of the XXXIX Articles of Religion, has so rendered it in his translation of the Article on Original Sin. “Megis yr ofer siarad y Morganiaid,”=“as the Morganites do vainly talk.”

described as the first Welshman whoever distinguished himself in literature or theology, and is generally supposed to have been educated at Bangor-is-y-coed Monastery, Flintshire.¹ About the end of the fourth century he left his native country, visited his countrymen in Brittany,² and from thence went to Rome.³ Here, in company with an Irishman of the name of Celestius, he began to propagate his heresy. His chief opponent was Augustine, who bears testimony to the personal holiness of Pelagius, and that he was "honourable, earnest, chaste, and commendable, a holy man who made considerable progress in the Christian life, a good and praiseworthy person, with whose name he first became acquainted when he (Pelagius) was living in Rome with commendation and respect." At the approach of the Goths, Pelagius quitted Rome and went to Africa, and from thence went to Palestine, where he was received with marks of distinction by John of Jerusalem.⁴ He was summoned to render an account of his doctrines before a synod of Bishops held at Diospolis, A.D. 415; but he was acquitted, as no charge of heresy was proved against him. Pelagius and Celestine were, however, condemned as heretics by the Council of Carthage, A.D. 416, and also by the Council of Milevum, in Numidia. Pope Zozimus declined to sanction these decrees, which were sent to Rome for that purpose, until the heresy had been condemned by a more numerous and august assembly, which was summoned to the Council of Carthage, when he agreed

1. Ranulphus Cestrensis in Polychronic. lib. 4. cap. 31.

2. Leland de Script.

3. Augustin de Pecatt Origin contra Pelag. c. 21.

4. Id de gest Palestin. contra Pelag. c. 22. Ep. 89, ad Hilarium Ussher, pp. 127, &c.

5. Augustin Retract Lib. 2. c. 47. Quoted in Ab Ithels Eccl. Antiq. of the Cymry p. 89.

to the decisions of the bishops of Africa.¹ By a decree of the Emperors Honorius and Theodosius, Pelagius and Celestine, with their followers, were banished from Rome. Pelagius seems to have submitted in silence to his fate, and died in obscurity in the East, and we heard nothing of him afterwards. The Pelagians endeavoured to prove that some of the ancient Fathers, especially of the Greek Church, used their language, and denied the existence of sin in infants. Augustine in his treatise *contra Julianum*, shows, in opposition to that heretic, that S. Chrysostom, (whom Julian had cited in favour of Pelagianism), had in reality plainly expressed the doctrine of original sin.²

The sentiments of Pelagius found favour in his native Britain; his chief allies were Cælestine, a monk of Ireland, and Julianus, a Bishop. Fastidus, a Briton, and a supposed British bishop, who was inclined to semi-Pelagianism, wrote a book about this time which is still extant.³ The progress of the heresy was so alarming, that the British Church appealed to the Gallican Church for the necessary help to stem the tide which threatened to inundate the country. It was natural that an appeal should be made to a nation so closely allied in blood and language, especially at this time when the Britons had been released from the Roman yoke. In response to the appeal, the Gallican church sent over Germanus (Garmon,) Bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus (Bleuddyn) Bishop of Troyes, to Britain. The *Liber Landavensis* speaks of the desired help as having been frequently sought by the British Church before it was granted—a statement which

1. Id Epist. 106, 92. Council Carthagin ad Innocent Epist. ordine inter Augustinianas 90. Zozim, Ep. 101. tom. i. Council, p. 611.

2. H.B. Exposition of xxxix Articles p. 235.

3. Councils, &c. (H. and S.) i. 17.

refutes the assertion of Prosper Aquitanus that the Gallican bishops were sent by Pope Cælestine. As the bishop of Rome was at this time unfriendly to the church in Gaul, which he accused of semi-Pelagianism, it is hardly probable that he would send missionaries from thence. Platina, in his history of Cælestine, makes no reference to this. The disturbed state of Rome at this time, owing to the devastations of the Goths, kept Cælestine fully occupied with his own affairs. Prosper tells us that Cælestine sent Germanus¹ over at the request of Palladius. The latter, however, is described as "the friend of Ruffinus, an admirer of Pelagius, and an enemy of S. Jerome."

On their arrival in Britain, the "Apostolic priests," as Constantius calls them, began their mission in earnest; preaching daily, not only in churches but on highways, cross-roads, and all places of public resort, where they could command the attention of, and influence the masses, confirming the faithful and calling back the erring, so that the work of up-rooting Pelagianism was largely done by open-air preaching. At first, the Pelagians shrank from an encounter with the Gallican bishops; but, alarmed at the success of the mission, and observing that the tide of public opinion and feeling was turning against them, they challenged Germanus and Lupus to a public discussion at Verulam (the present S. Albans), and elected as their leader, Agricola, the Pelagian bishop who had introduced the heresy into Britain. The Pelagians, who appeared "conspicuous for riches, glittering in apparel, and supported by the flatteries of many," spoke

1. "A Cornish *Missa S. Germani* (probably 9th century) claims S. Germanus' preaching and relics for Cornwall and attributes his mission to Pope Gregory. It contains also a reference to the 'vesania' etc. of Vortigern." Councils &c. (H. and S.) i. 20.

first and endeavoured by plausible arguments to strengthen their position, but they were unable to resist the force of the truth which poured out on the audience through the eloquent lips of the Gallican bishops. After a long discussion, the audience burst into loud applause, declaring the victory to be on the side of the Catholic party ; and the populace were with difficulty prevented from using violence towards the Pelagians, who were completely beaten.

The choice of Verulam as the arena of the discussion was not without its advantages to the orthodox party ; for an appeal to the example of the first British martyr, S. Alban, who had laid down his life for the true Faith on the very spot, would tend to confirm the faithful and recall the erring. That this was done is not improbable, for S. Germanus visited the tomb A.D. 429, and there deposited with his relics the relics of other martyrs ; and on his return to Gaul, took with him a blood-red turf from the spot whereon S. Alban had shed his blood, and deposited it in a new church built by himself at Auxerre, and dedicated to the memory of Britain's proto-martyr. The chief authority for the Life of Germanus is Constantius, a priest of Lyons, who lived about A.D. 450, and from which Bede, who 350 years later, obtained his information.

The discovery of a book in the ruins of Verulam in the tenth century, containing the history of S. Alban, written in the ancient British character and dialect, and which the natives used, indicates that the disputation at Verulam was conducted in the vernacular, not in Latin ; for then, as now, there existed a bi-lingual difficulty. Add to this that the island had now been deserted by the Romans, and left to the natives who spoke the British language. There were,

no doubt, many Britons who had become Roman in language and feeling, just as there are Welshmen now who have become Anglican in the same way. Pelagius, who had resided latterly in Rome and died in the East, was himself a Romano-Briton; and it was in Rome that he first taught his heresy,¹ and it was through the medium of the Latin language that he raised the theological storm which convulsed the whole of Christendom. The heresy was introduced into Britain by Agricola,² and it is doubtful if Pelagius ever wrote in his native language.³ Had the propagation of the Pelagian heresy been confined within the narrow range of the British language, it could not have made itself felt beyond the limits of Britain, for the opponents of Pelagius included among the Fathers the honoured names of Augustine, Jerome and Fulgentius. Germanus and Lupus spoke Gaulish—a mixture of British and Latin—represented by the language of Britany³ to-day, but they must have possessed a sufficient

1. Councils &c, (H. and S.) i. 15.

2. Councils &c, (H. & S.) i. 15.

3. Collier, in his *Eccles. His.* B. i. says that Pelagius wrote the following books: "A commentary on the Epistles of S. Paul, attributed to S. Jerome; a letter to Demetria, and some others in the last tome of S. Jerome; a Confession of Faith to Pope Innocent; Fragments of Treatise, of the power of Nature and Free-will, in S. Augustine. These are extant. He wrote likewise a Treatise of the Power of Nature, and several books concerning Free-will, which are lost."

3. The Welsh reader will observe the semblance in the Breton and Welsh translations of the following verses from S. Luke xvi. 24 and 2 Cor. xiii. 13.

Breton.

"Hag hen en eur grial a lavaras;
Tad Abraham, az pez truez ouzin-
me, ha cas Lazar evit ma lakai
pen e viz en dour, da fresgaad d'in
va zeod: rag goallhoaniet oun er
flam-ma."—Sant Lucas xvi.

"Gras hon Aatrou Jesus-Christ, ha
carantez Douc, ha communion ar
Spered Santel 'Ra vezo ganeoch
holl. Amen."

Welsh.

"Ac efe a lefodd, ac a ddywedodd.
O dad Abraham, trugarhâ wrthyf
a danfon Lazarus, i drochi pen ei
fys mewn dwfr, ac i oeri fy nhafod;
canys fe a'm poenir yn y fflam
hon."—Sant Luc xvi.

"Gras ein Harglwydd Iesu Grist, a
chariad Duw, a chymdeithas yr
Ysbryd Glan a fyddo gyda chwi
oll. Amen."

knowledge of the British language to secure the success of their mission. This was, no doubt, especially the case as regards Germanus,—who was the son of Rhedyw, and udcle of Emyr, an Armorican Prince¹—and he appears to have taken the lead in the campaign against the Pelagians. The theological victory at Verulam was soon followed by a military triumph, under the same leadership, over the Saxons and Picts.² The battle was fought in the season of Lent A.D. 429,³ and the scene of the victory is described as a valley surrounded by hills, with a river winding through it, which answers to the scenery in the neighbourhood of Maesgarmon (the Field of Germanus), near Mold, Flintshire, where the enemy had advanced. A considerable proportion of the British army was unbaptized, which may be attributed (1) to the teaching of the Pelagians who denied the necessity of infant baptism; and (2) to the impression which existed of the awful character of sin after baptism. Now, that the Pelagians had been vanquished, the presence of the victors in the British camp inspired confidence in the multitude; and Germanus gave practical effect to his victory over them by ordering all the unbaptized members of the army to submit to the rite in the river Alun close by. This they did; and Bede tells us that “they were yet wet dripping with the waters of baptism,” when the foe came upon them. Turning from the spiritual to the military aspect of the situation,

1. Rees *Welsh Saints* p. 123.

2. The alliance of the Saxons and Picts about a score of years before the landing of Hengist is possibly a mistake into which Constantius was led by want of means of obtaining accurate information.

3. “Prosper, a professed chronicler giving a definite date, a native of Aquitaine, himself in Rome, A.D. 431, on a mission to Pope Cælestine, subsequently secretary to Pope Leo the Great, and writing shortly after 455 is certainly the best evidence for the date 429, of Germanus’ first visit to Britain.” Councils, &c., i. 17.

Germanus, who in his early days had been a soldier, assumed the command of the British army. "The pious bishop," says Fuller,¹ "turning politic engineer, chose a place of advantage near the village called at this day by the English Mold, by the British Guid-cruc,² in Flintshire, where the field at this day retains the name of Maesgarmon, or the Field of Germanus."

Placing the men in ambush, S. Germanus gave the word of command to cry out "Hallelujah" three times at a given signal. This they did : and the cry, being greatly increased in volume by the echo from the neighbouring hills, struck terror into the hearts of the enemy, who fled in dismay ; many of them being drowned in the Alun, which became to the retreating pagans a watery grave, as it had just been before the Christians' font.³ This is noted by Constantius of Lyons, who wrote the Life of S. Germanus about thirty years after the saints' death. It is, however, difficult to reconcile the tradition with the shallowness of the Alun of to-day, unless the river was so swollen by floods that it had expanded and deepened its natural bed to that extent as to sweep everything before it. If so, it is, on the other hand, difficult to explain how the rite of baptism could be administered in so great a flood. Blackwell, in his Ode on "Maesgarmon," takes a poetic view of the event, and speaks of the Alun as rising miraculously above its banks at the sound of the

1. Church History i. 83.

2. "At the north end of the town stands the mount, to which it owes the British and Latin names, Yr Wyddgrug, and Mons Altus, the lofty or conspicuous Mount. This is partly natural, partly artificial."—*Pennants' Tours in Wales*, i. 395.

3. Brit. Eccles. Antiquit. 335.

"Hallelujah" cry.¹

Bede agrees with Constantius in the details of the history of the Hallelujah Battle; but the story "does not," says Rees,² "appear to be found in Welsh MSS.; and it was the occurrence of the name "Maesgarmon" in the Parish of Mold, Flintshire, that led Archbishop Ussher to fix upon that spot for the 'Alleluiatic Victory.' That a battle was fought there under circumstances improved into a miracle, is not impossible." But the absence of any reference to the battle in Welsh MSS. is not in itself a disproof; such annals as may have existed having perished, and if any contemporary history of this victory ever existed, it may be assumed that the details of it were duly recorded in documents now lost; and it is not improbable that such documents may have existed in the monastery of Bangor-is-y-coed, not far from Maesgarmon. In the absence of such manuscripts, an appeal to topographical evidence is proof of some value in support of tradition. The fact that the locality of Mold has been more tenacious than any other of the name of S. Garmon tends to confirm the correctness of Ussher's theory. There is nothing incredible in the narrative itself if viewed as an act of stratagem only.

The following passage in the "Morals"³ of S. Gregory the Great has been held to refer to the "Hallelujah Victory."

-
1. "Clýwai Alun destyn da
Alawon *Haleluia*.
A chilicdd dros ei cheulan,—
Hi droes lif ar draws y lan;
A mynent hwy er maint hon,
Yn eu braw .rwyfaw'r afon."

2. Welsh Saints, p. 121.

3. Moralia in Job. Lib. 27. cap. ii.

Commenting on Job xxxvi. 29, 30 : "Also can any understand the spreadings of the clouds, or the noise of his tabernacle? Behold, he spreadeth his light upon it, and covereth the bottom of the sea," S. Gregory continues : "And when these clouds¹ rain with words, and when by their miracles they display the might of a flashing light, they do convert even the bounds of the world to love divine. Whence fitly is it added : 'he shall cover also the bottom of the sea.'² That this should be done indeed we have heard by the words of Elihu : 'but now do we behold it already done by the authority of God. For the Almighty Lord by flashing clouds hath covered the bottom of the sea, in that by shining miracles of preachers he hath led to the faith even the bounds of the world. For lo! now hath he penetrated the hearts well nigh of all nations : lo! in one faith hath He united the limit of East and of West : lo! the tongue of Britain, which knew none other than an inarticulate gnashing of the teeth, hath long since in divine praises begun to resound with an Hebrew Alleluia."

But it may be doubted whether S. Gregory had the Hallelujah Victory in mind. It is true that he speaks of "*Lingua Britannia*," whereas in his correspondence with S. Augustine he speaks of *Anglia* as well as *Angli*. But we cannot be sure that he would have observed the distinction in a rhetorical passage, written for the use of people who perhaps had never heard of *Angli* or *Anglia*, although they were familiar with *Britannia*, as the uttermost parts of the West ; and we can hardly believe that S. Gregory assumed that his readers were

1. S. Gregory sees in the clouds of which Job speaks a symbol of the preachers of the Gospel ; their words are the 'rain,' their miracles the 'lightening' of Job.

2. Sc. with light.

familiar with the history of the Hallelujah Battle. The passage seems to refer to some more recent progress of the faith, or perhaps he was thinking of the fulfilment of his own aspiration that 'Alleluia' may be sung in the realm of King Ella.

The district in which Mold and Maesgarmon are situate was in the sixth century called Maclor. "Ffynnon y gwaed," or the "Well of blood," close by, took its name probably from the "Hallelujah Battle." A chapel stood near the same spot at one time, dedicated to S. Isidore, and known as "Capel Spwdwr,"¹ founded possibly for the singing of masses for the souls of the slain. In the time of Leland, pilgrimages were still made to the Church of Llanarmon-yn-Ial, on the Vigil of S. Egidius, and costly gifts offered.² The monument,



represented in our illustration, which bears a Latin inscription descriptive of the "Hallelujah Victory," was erected on Maesgarmon in the year 1736. The site of the Church which S. Germanus erected "with boughs for the feast of the resurrection of our Lord, and so fitted up in that martial camp as if it were in a city," is supposed to be that on which

1. His. Dio. S. Asaph (Thomas) 598.

2. Pennants' "Tours in Wales," i. 380.

the Church of Llanarmon-yn-Iâl now stands, and about seven miles from Maesgarmon. But there is a tradition at Mold that the first church there was made of plaited sprigs in the form of an arbour, and which possibly stood near the site of this monument.

The name of Germanus, saint, theologian, reformer, administrator, and soldier, stands above his contemporaries in the history of the British Church, as having left an indelible impression on the age in which he lived ; and he occupies the same exalted position in her history before, as S. David does after, the Saxon Conquest. The history of Germanus as a born leader of men was powerfully felt in his own day, especially in the educational and territorial organizations of the British Church ; for all the institutions of his time, as well as those of the age immediately following, are ascribed to him, including not only Llantwit and Llancarvan, but also Oxford and Cambridge. There can be no doubt that the period of S. Germanus is a landmark which indicates (1) the foundation of a system of higher education in the British Church on the basis of the Gallican monasteries, at that time distinguished for their knowledge and cultivation of literature : (2) the foundation of the parochial system, and the churches dedicated to S. Garmon are among the earliest, if not the earliest instances in Britain of parish churches.¹ Before this, the clergy lived in communities with their bishop at certain centres, from whence they traversed the country on mission work. The old system of centralization was, however, only very gradually superseded by the parochial system, and was the work of centuries. The name of Germanus has assumed greater

1. Rees' Welsh Saints, 131.

prominence than that of his colleague Lupus, This is evident from the impression which his name has left on the topography of the country ; for, while there are several churches dedicated under the name of S. Garmon in Wales and Cornwall, there are only two under the name of Lupus or Bleuddyn, i.e., Llanfleiddan-fawr and Llanfleiddan-fach, in Glamorganshire. Pont Bleuddyn, near Mold, connects his name with the neighbourhood. The first visit of Germanus and Lupus lasted about two years. Though the majority of the people continued true to the Faith as a result of their mission, the Pelagian heresy reappeared. In his second mission A.D. 447, Garmon was accompanied by Severus, Archbishop of Treves. Shortly after his return to Gaul, the former died A.D. 448.¹ His wake or festival was observed on the first Sunday after the 12th October. There are no grounds for supposing that Germanus brought over with him to Britain a Gallican liturgy for the use of the British Church;²—a tradition which some modern writers have improved to a suggestion that it may have formed the basis of the present Book of Common Prayer. The statement respecting British liturgies, differing from S. Patrick's and introduced into Ireland in the latter half of the 6th century by S. David, S. Padoc, and Gildas, is made in the *Catal Sanctorum* attributed to Tirechanus c. A.D. 750. That the British Liturgy was one peculiar to Britain is also asserted by some one under the name of Gildas, but certainly Irish, and of later date than Gildas, probably of the 7th century. The Lessons of Scripture used at ordination by the British Church appear to be peculiar to the British Ordinal, and to be taken from a

1. Councils, &c., i. 19.

2. Ibid i. 21,

Latin Version peculiar to the British Church.¹

British legends connect the name of S. Garmon with the consecration of S. Dubricius. They are, however, inconsistent with the contemporary statements of Constantius, and are mixed up with evident fiction. The churches bearing the name of S. Garmon are among the earliest instances in Britain of parish churches.² North Wales has been more tenacious of the name of Garmon than the southern half of the principality. There are five churches or chapels bearing his name in the diocese of S. Asaph,³ and two in the diocese of Bangor.⁴ England has also retained the name of the saint.⁵ The territory now included in the diocese of S. Asaph, though the diocese had not been founded in the time of Garmon, claims the name of the saint more than any other part of the kingdom, from which it may be inferred that that district was more favoured with his presence than any other.

Of the legendary traditions preserved by Nennius the following is interesting, and bears on the history of S. Garmon. "When the guilty Vortigern fled with his wives, first to the mountain recesses of North Wales, and then to

1. Councils, &c. i. 141.

2. Rees' "Welsh Saints." p. 131.

3. Llanarmon-yn-Iâl—Llanarmon Dyffryn Ceiriog—Llanarmon Mynydd Mawr, near Oswestry—Llanarmon-yn-Mechain—or Llanfechain, Montgomeryshire—His name is also connected with a mound in this parish. "Twmpath Armon" and with the Holy-well "Ffynon Armon," from whence the baptismal water used to be taken until the close of the last century.

4. Llanarmon under Llangybi, and Bettws Garmon, under Llanfairis-gaer.

5. The ancient cathedral of the Cornish Britons, as well as that of the Isle of Man. "Germanus Walk" in Devonshire—Selby Abbæy in the joint names of S. S. Mary and Germanus.

South Wales. S. Garmon,¹ now in Britain on his second mission, A.D. 447, followed him with the British clergy; and upon a rock entreated God during forty days and forty nights to pardon the King's sins. Again, when Vortigern betook himself to a castle which he had built on the river Towy, the saint, according to his usual custom, followed him thither, and with his clergy fasted and prayed to the Lord three days and as many nights, and it was only through the continued impenitence of the King that fire is said to have fallen from heaven, consuming the castle, and destroying all its miserable occupants."

The death of S. Germanus happened A.D. 448, about a year after his return home from Britain on his second visit to oppose the Pelagians, and just two years before the Saxon Conquest. His useful life closed the very year that the Roman sway in Britain ended, if, as Hume says, the final evacuation of the country by Roman troops, did not take place till A.D. 448.

After about the year 450, the British Church was practically cut off for about a century from the churches of Southern Europe.³ This was due to the disturbed state of the country after the Roman evacuation. The Picts and the Scots were bitter enemies of the Britons, and the Romans had never succeeded in conquering them. Taking advantage of the defenceless condition of the Britons, they made war upon them. The Britons applied to Rome for

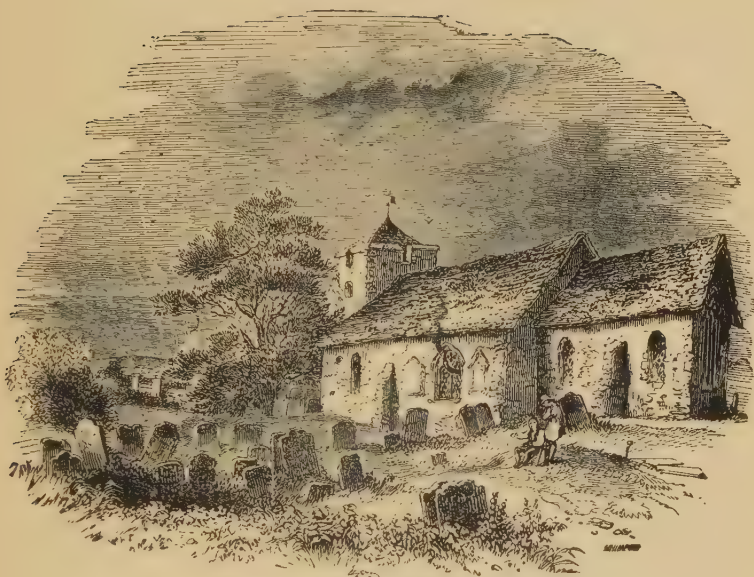
1. "Garmon ap Redgitus o Ffrainc i'r henyw ac yn amser Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenau i doeth i'r ynys hon." 'Bonedd y Saint,' 425. "His name was Garmon ap Redigtus of France he came over in the time of Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenau to this island." *Genealogy of the Saints.* 425.

2. *Historia Britonum.* i. (M. H. B. 70)

3. *Councils &c.* (H. & S.) i. 3.

help ; but, with the Goths, under their King Alaric, at the very gates of the imperial city, the Romans could give no assistance. Under the circumstances, Vortigern, the most powerful of the British Kings, appealed to the Saxons and Angles, a heathen people of Germany. These came under the leaderships of Hengist and Horsa, and landed in Kent ; but observing that Britain was a fertile and beautiful country, instead of helping the Britons to drive out the Picts and the Scots, they determined to conquer the country for themselves, so that the Saxons and Angles became more bitter enemies to the Britons than those whom they had been invited to conquer.





S. Martin's Church, Canterbury.

CHAPTER VI.
BRITANNO ROMAN CHURCHES.

*"Thy servants take pleasure in her stones, and favour the
dust thereof."*

Ps. cii. 14.

THE Britons imitated the Romans in the architecture of
their churches, and the latter are said to have followed

the plan of the basilicas, which were the Roman halls of justice in all large Roman towns. As masonry work was so common among the Romans, it would be natural to expect that the early churches of Britain would be built of stone. They were, however, not so common as might be supposed, and the remains of Britanno-Roman churches are few¹ as compared to the remains of Roman roads and fortifications in Britain. This may be attributed, in a measure, to the destruction of Christian edifices during the Diocletian persecution, which formed a marked feature of the imperial edict. It might have been expected that Constantine on his conversion to Christianity, would have restored the churches of his native land destroyed during the governorship of his father. The elevation, however, of Constantine to the imperial throne brought with it the decay of Britain as a Roman province, and all that was best in the country followed him to Rome.

Bede (H. E. iii. c. 4) says that the custom of building stone churches was unusual among the Britons, A.D. 595. This was more than a hundred years after the Roman period

1, Haddan and Stubbs (Councils. &c. i. 37), give the following List of remains of Roman churches in Britain; (1) S. Martin's, Canterbury. (2) A church supposed to have existed near Verulam, over the grave of S. Alban, destroyed before the time of Bede. (3) Two churches supposed to have existed at Caerleon. (4) At Bangor-is-y-coed, near Chester (5) At Glastonbury. The Saxons found a church there when refounding the monastery. (6) At Dover Castle, dating probably from the 4th or 5th century. (7) At Richford in Kent, in the Roman camp, a ruin in the form of a cross on a platform of Roman work, possibly the base of a chapel. (8) At Reculver, in Kent, an old chapel with Roman bricks; a Christian Church in very early Saxon times, and probably also under the Britons. (9) At Lyminge in Kent, between Canterbury and Lymne, on the site of the present church. (10) At Brixworth, Northamptonshire. There appears little doubt that the church here was originally a Roman basilica, of the fourth or fifth century. The original Roman apse at the east end has been destroyed in order to extend the building.

when the Britons had been driven into Wales. The traditional church built by S. Germanus on Maesgarmon, near Mold, to celebrate the Hallelujah victory, consisted of interwoven branches of trees (*frondibus contexta*). But it was a temporary structure erected to celebrate Easter. This was A.D. 429,—a period of 136 years before the time of which Bede speaks. The Welsh word *adail* or *adeilad*, which now popularly denotes any sort of building, has in its etymology a primary, if not an exclusive reference to the wattling style. The British Church during the Roman period was guided by circumstances in the building of her churches; and we may fairly infer that town churches, where the Roman element was strong, were, for the most part built of stone, while the country churches were made of interwoven branches of trees. The wattling style was no doubt British; but we are not to suppose that the Britons preferred a structure of a less durable kind than Roman masonry. In those regions of Britain, of which Tertullian speaks as being inaccessible to the Romans, but subject to Christ, Christian work was carried on much on the same lines as mission work is now conducted in heathen lands, where our missionaries are obliged to be satisfied with temporary structures of wood or iron, as the case may be, when, from force of circumstances, buildings of a more ornate and durable kind are not procurable.

The little Church of S. Martin, Canterbury, represented in our illustration, built in memory of S. Martin of Tours, who died A.D. 387,—the saint who gave half of his cloak to the shivering beggar at the gate of Amiens,—is a rectangular building, with low tower, and stands on a rising ground outside the city of Canterbury. A number of Roman bricks, which formed part of the original building, may still be seen in the walls and semi-circular arches of the present edifice—

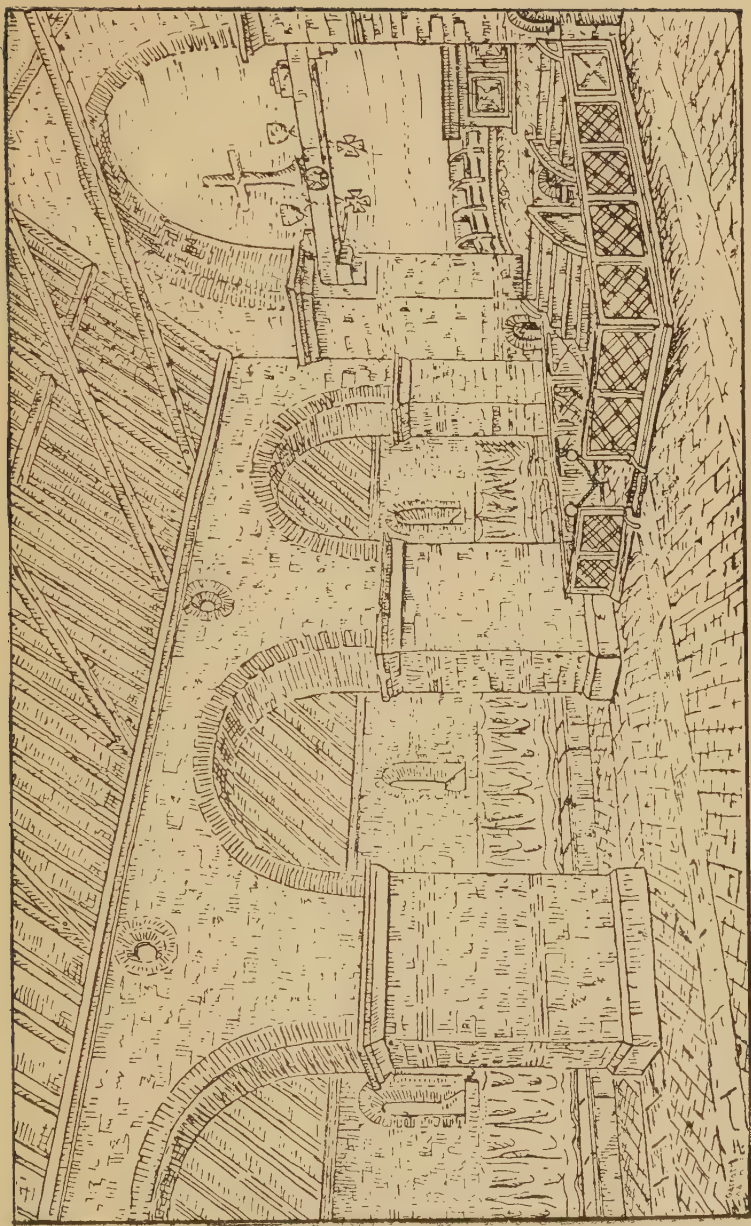
remnants of the very material of which this little church was originally built, when the Romans were yet in Britain. Some portion of the present masonry work is also supposed to be Roman.¹ When Augustine came over to Britain A.D. 596, to convert the pagan Saxons, Christianity was not completely banished from the country, for he found Christian services regularly held in this little church of S. Martin. Bede,² speaking of the mission of S. Augustine to the Saxons, says: "Augustine when he obtained an episcopal see in the King's city (i.e. Canterbury) recovered therein, aided by the assistance of the King himself, a church, which he had learnt was once built there by the handy work of Roman believers, and he consecrated it in the name of God the Saviour, and our Lord Jesus Christ." The present Cathedral of Christ Church, Canterbury, stands on the site of this very church.

Bede, in the above extract, makes use of the words "recuperavit in ea ecclesia,"—"recovered therein a church,"—which would be probable enough in a locality where the Christian religion had once flourished; and the same writer further remarks that this church was built by Roman believers, not by Britons.

It would be interesting to know what the architecture of the church recovered by S. Augustine was like. Edmer, born about 1060, who entered at an early age the monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury and became precentor, compiled the lives of several Archbishops of Canterbury, and says, this *was the very* church which had been built by the Romans, as

1. Part of the tower dates no further back than the 14th century, and the chancel from about the 13th.

2. H. E. i. 33.



Supposed appearance of the original Roman Church discovered at Canterbury.

Bede bears witness in his history, and which was only arranged in some parts in imitation of the Church of the blessed prince of the Apostles, S. Peter's in Rome." Our illustration is a sketch based on Edmer's description of the internal arrangement of the church recovered by Augustine ; and the masonry and general architectural details of the Church of S. Mary, Dover Castle—undoubtedly of Roman construction—are followed.

There was a raised presbytery with steps ascending to it from the choir on either side : while beneath this was a crypt with some few steps descending, also from either side. The high altar stood above, near the front of the raised portion. The absence of any mention of a pulpit is remarkable. It may be a new thought to many, especially in Wales, that for hundreds of years our churches had no pulpits. The font and the altar were indispensable ; but the pulpit was not. Conscious of the ideal of worship, the early Christians left the impress of their minds on the arrangements of the sanctuary ; thus laying down in a permanent form, by means of ocular as well as oral teaching, the truth that the House of God is the house of prayer. In our early styles of architecture—Norman and early English—we have an immense number of examples of fonts and altars ; but of pulpits, not one. It is the latest piece of furniture introduced into the church ; the organ even was in use long before the pulpit became common. From the fourteenth century it became more prominent, and in the seventeenth, when the foremost place was given to preaching, it became almost everything.



PERIOD II.

THE CHURCH OF THE CYMRY DURING THE PERIOD OF THE SAXON CONQUEST.

A.D. 450—681.



"The period of S. David and the settlement of the Welsh Church, is somewhat better provided from its own stores, although (with the exception of Gildas) the preservation of such fragmentary remains as it has left, is due either to Brittany or to Irish Churchmen."

Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents,

Vol. I. x.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE BRITISH CHURCH IN WALES.

“ By the waters of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept, when we remembered Zion.”

Ps. cxxxvii. 1.

THE settlement of the British Church in Wales opens a new epoch in her history ; and the title “ Church of the Cymry ” may be said to date from that period ; for she then assumed a more distinctive Welsh character than during the Roman occupation. When the Romans conquered and civilized Britain, they brought the natives under their rule, disciplined them by arms, and subjected them to Roman law ; and it is well known that every effort was made to introduce the Roman language among all the conquered races. Without this the conquest was considered incomplete. The large infusion of Latin into the Welsh language shows how thoroughly the Roman Conquest made itself felt in Britain, when the natives held a joint occupation with their conquerors. But the Saxon Conquest drove the Cymry into the wilds of Wales and Cornwall, where, with the Welsh mountains frowning upon their shattered ecclesiastical organization, they began to set their house in order. The Lord’s song, under the circumstances, could not have been sung in other than plaintive strains—and Welsh people still have a preference for music in the minor key. Whether this was

always so, or whether it be the natural strain of a conquered race, we need not stay here to enquire. The mountains of Wales, the strongholds of Welsh independence and isolation, are prominent features in their bearing on the history of Welsh national life. While, on the one hand, they formed a natural barrier to the further advance of the Saxons, and the heathen darkness it brought in its train, they proved, on the other hand, a hindrance to the advancement of church and people. The "Lives of the Saints," and the "Genealogies," written about 400 or 500 years subsequent to the events they record, and therefore not in all respects reliable, have reference to the ecclesiastical history of Britain during the 5th and 6th centuries; and show that most of the churches of Wales were founded by those British chiefs who, having lost their possessions at the hands of the Saxons, had, to soothe their misfortunes, embraced a religious life in the solitary recesses of the Welsh mountains. And the physical aspect of the country was not without its influence on the religious life of the Cymry; for its picturesque and solemn grandeur fostered a feeling of piety and repose; so that the topography of Wales became gradually as conspicuously ecclesiastical as the aspect of the country itself is mountainous.

While the inroad of railways has now made havoc of many of our valleys and hillsides, ecclesiastical topography has held its ground in the preservation of the names of the old Welsh saints, who in primitive times contended so earnestly for the faith; and whose lives helped so largely to make secure, in each successive generation, the quiet moorings in which their natural piety and the teaching of the early British Church would hold it—that faith in the other world, and its visible connection and communion with this. The names of most Welsh parishes are connected with some

saint: e.g. Llandeilo, Llandudno, Llanbadarn, Llangollen. The quiet villages, lovely vales, desolate wilds, and rugged strand of Wales have churches founded by its holy men of old; ruins of crosses, holy wells, and monastic buildings—evidences that the thoughts of the Cymry belonged to a world other than the material. To them the supernatural had become almost the natural, and the hills and valleys of their native land are peopled by mystic forms and legends which are to them all but living realities—linking the Welshman with an artistic and picturesque past of which history has told him much.

The conquest of that part of Britain now called England was so complete that its original name Lloegr,¹ from Lloegr-ians, the Celtic tribe that occupied it, was, so far as the Saxons who settled there were concerned, completely lost; and the name England, or Angleland, from Angli, or Angles, the principal tribe of the invaders, substituted. England is, however, still known in the vernacular by its original name Lloegr, which may have been derived from the occupation of the portion of the island by the tribe known to the Romans as the "Ligures," who, in fact, inhabited a part of the country bordering on the Loire, called "Liger" by the Romans. The immigration of the Lloegrwys into Britain was spoken of in the Triads as posterior to that of the Cymry, and the people described as being of mixed blood, or, at least, not of the same pure Celtic stock as the Cymry. The Lloegrian Britons, for the most part, submitted to their conquerors, and adopted their customs, and had already be-

1. "There are three principal provinces in the Isle of Britain; Cymru (Wales), Lloegr (England), and Alban (Scotland); each of these is subject to the sovereignty, and is governed, according to the common law of each province, under one sovereign according to the limitation of Prydain the son of Aedd Mawr," *Triad 2*.

come generally incorporated with the Coranians and Romans, and joined themselves to the Saxons against the Cymry. Triad 7 affirms that "there were none of the Lloegrians who did not become Saxons, except such as were found in Cornwall, and in the Commot of Carnoban, in Deivyr and Bryneich (Deira and Bernicia)."

In many cases, the bishops were the last to desert the conquered portions of the country. Theon, Bishop of London, and Thadioc, Bishop of York, Dubricius, Bishop of Warwick, held their ground until Christianity had been utterly stamped out of their dioceses, and then sought shelter, A.D. 450, in Wales. From that time till about the close of the 6th century, the Cymry were continually at war, which almost invariably ended in the triumph of the Saxons. When sometimes victory favoured the Britons, the bishops returned to their sees, but were soon driven back again by the conquerors. Ambrosius, said to have been the grandson of the illustrious King Arthur, was the chief opposer of the Saxons; and during the suspension of hostilities which followed the death of Hengist on the battle-field, Ambrosius convened a council at York, when it was decided to rebuild the churches which the barbarians had destroyed. He raised bishops also to the vacant sees of Caerleon and York, and once more the British Church seemed about to regain her former footing in her original home.

Gildas gives a fearful account of the death struggles between the Celtic and Teutonic races for the possession of East Britain, during which the church, which had so long flourished in those parts, was completely swept away; and the worship of false gods took the place of the Christian religion in all the conquered regions. Woden, the tutelary deity of

the Saxons, was the god of slaughter, and Frigga, his wife, the goddess of sensuality. They believed in a world beyond the grave, but the joys they looked forward to there consisted of bloodshed and nights of debauchery. The barbarism of the pagan Saxons was of a savage character, first as the allies, and afterwards as the oppressors of the Britons. Notwithstanding their lack of military training, the Britons resisted for a long time with great stubbornness the attacks of the Saxons, under various leaders, among whom the name of King Arthur, of wide celebrity as a hero of poetry and romance, stands out prominently. His history is, however, so covered with extravagant decorations of romantic and mythological lore, that it is difficult to mark out its true lines. "When all fictions in the life of Arthur are removed," says Turner,¹ "and when those incidents only are retained, which the sober criticism of history sanctions with its approbation, a fame, ample enough to interest the judicious and perpetuate his honourable memory, will still continue to bloom." Arthur was called by a general suffrage about A.D. 517, to take the supreme command of his countrymen against the growing power of the Saxons. It is further added that he was on this occasion invested with the insignia of royalty, with great pomp and solemnity at Caerleon-on-Usk, by Dyfrig, Bishop of Llandaff, and is said to have been victorious in twelve battles.²

"And Arthur and his knighthood for a space
 Were all one will, and thro' that strength the King
 Drew in the petty pryncedoms under him,
 Fought, and in twelve great battles overcame
 The heathen hordes, and made a realm and reigned."

TENNYSON,³

1. His. Anglo-Saxons i. 230.

2. Gildas c. 26. Nennius c. 61—63.

3. Idylls of the King.

Arthur is said to have met his death in a rebellion fermented by his nephew, and was buried in the monastery of Glastonbury, where his remains are said, on the authority of Giraldus Cambrensis, (A.D. 1146—1220), to have been discovered in the reign of Henry II. The same writer adds that he was present at the exhumation and saw the inscription. This statement is confirmed by William of Malmesbury and others.





S. Asaph Cathedral.

CHAPTER VIII.

A.D. 500—560.

FOUNDING OF THE DIOCESAN EPISCOPATE IN WALES.

"There is no real evidence of the existence of any Archi-episcopate at all in Wales during the Welsh period, if the term is held to imply jurisdiction admitted or even claimed (until the 12th,) by one see over another. And the political condition of the country would have seriously hindered, if it did not altogether preclude the existence of such a real Archi-episcopate."

HADDAN AND STUBBS.¹

THE form of government of the British Church was episcopal; and, in the application of the maxim "Nulla ecclesia sine episcopo" to her history, in common with that of the other churches of Christendom, there is no reason to doubt

1. Councils &c. i. 148.

the truth of Gibbon's remark thereon, that this "has been a fact as well as a maxim since the time of Tertullian and Irenæus." There were always bishops, but it cannot be proved that in Britain they had settled and well defined areas of administration till the fourth century. When Constantine granted the Christians of his dominions freedom of worship, the British church then organized her system on a territorial basis. There were, no doubt, a large number of bishops in Wales before the year 569, when the see of Caerleon was divided, as appears from the history written since of two synods which were held at Llanddewi-brefi about that time. The number of bishops present at the first synod is said to have been 118, besides a large number of clergy and laity. Assuming this large number of bishops to be correct, it is certain that they were itinerant not diocesan bishops. From the nature of things they could not be otherwise, because the disturbed state of the country prevented the possibility of creating territorial sees till the sixth century. But of the existence of those the names of whom have been handed down to us, there is no doubt, notwithstanding that our knowledge of them can be traced to no higher authority than legendary biographies, written centuries afterwards. Although there are wide gaps in the written records of the succession of bishops, the names preserved are interesting as those of the pioneers of early British Christianity.

Wales was not permanently divided into dioceses until the 6th century. Caerleon was the only exception, and up to the time of the departure of the Romans, and after that, was almost certainly the sole see in Wales, when in A.D. 569, it was, at the request of its aged bishop, Dyfrig, subdivided into those of S. David's, Llanbadarn, and Llandaff; and a bishop appointed for each tribal division, the newly appointed bishops being descendants of the renowned Cunedda

Wledig, or some other princely ancestor. A noticeable feature in the British Church is the fact that a large number of her prelates were drawn from the highest class of society. This is evident from the catalogues of British saints, where no vulgar name appears. Such a distinction may be considered as of Druidical origin; for, according to the testimony of Mela (iii. 2.), the disciples of the Druids were *nobilissimi gentis*, sons of the noblest families in the nation: and it is observable that Christian ministers in the infant Church of Wales were exclusively chosen out of the Bardic order.¹

The permanency of Caerleon² depended upon the importance which that place had maintained from the time it was occupied by the Romans. The jurisdiction of its bishop would be co-extensive with the Roman province of Britannia Secunda, and his suffragians were so many "chor-episcopi," without any settled place of residence: ³ thus the names occur of Tudwal in Caernarvonshire: Cynin, at Llangelynin: Gistlianus at Menevia: Paulinus at Tygwyn: all of whom are termed bishops, and to their number may be added Dubricius, Bishop of Llandaff. The influence of the latter, together with the liberality of Meurig ap Tewdrig, King of Glamorgan, were the means of making the see of Llandaff permanent,⁴ whence Dubricius is said to have been its first bishop.⁵

I. Bangor was first founded as a choir of monks, or a "chor-episcopi," about A.D. 525, with Deiniol Wyn at its

1. Ab Ithel. Ecc. Antiq. 78.

2. Ancient British Church. 143.

3. Bingham's Antiquities of the Christian Church. Book ii.

4. Registrum Landavense apud Godwin et Usher.

5. Welsh Saints (Rees). 173.

head. About twenty five years later, it was created a bishopric—the limits of the diocese being co-extensive with the principality of Gwynedd—and Maelgwyn Gwynedd, Prince of North Wales, whose principal residence was the Castle of Deganwy, on the Conway,—endowed it with lands and privileges for that purpose. Maelgwyn, who ascended the throne A.D. 546, was a powerful man in battle, but his early life was disgraced by gross immorality; and he has been designated “the tempter of saints.” S.S. Padarn and Tydecho felt the power of his oppression, and he imprisoned Elfin, a student of S. Illtyd’s college, in Deganwy Castle; he also opposed S. Kentigern in the founding of the see of Llanelwy, but was afterwards reconciled, and became one of his patrons.¹ Powerful as Maelgwyn was, he quaked under the rebukes of those whom he oppressed, and made amends for the wrongs he had inflicted, and towards the close of his life repented of his past sins, and showed his contrition by founding the see of Bangor.² He died A.D. 566, of the yellow plague (*Y Vad Velen*), in the church of Llanrhos, Caernarvonshire, whither he had fled for shelter.

Deiniol Wyn became the first diocesan bishop of Bangor, as he had been before, for 25 years, its itinerant bishop. Nothing much is known of Deiniol: “he was the son of Dunawd Fawr, the son of Pabo Post Prydain, and Deuer the daughter of Lleinawg was his mother.”³ This first Bishop of Bangor died A.D. 584,⁴ and was buried in the isle of Bardsey, or *Ynys Enlli*. His name is commemorated on Nov-

1. Ussher. CXIV.

2. Rees *Welsh Saints*. p. 258.

3. *Cambro. Brit.* S.S. 266.

4. *Gir. Cambr. Itin. Cambr.* ii. 6.

ember 23, Newman, in his *List of Welsh Saints*,¹ has, "545. Novr. 23. Daniel B. C. first Bishop of Bangor." The year 545 has reference probably to his elevation to the diocesan episcopate. It is impossible to reconcile the date with any other event in his life, and it cannot refer to his birth, for he was head of the monastery A.D. 525. The 23rd November, or "S. Deiniol's Day," has reference probably to the date of his entering on the duties of the see: as Maelgwyn Gwynedd, A.D. 547,² he probably founded the see A.D. 545, as Newman has it. The Cathedral church of Bangor, Hawarden parish Church, Llanuwchllyn, Portmadoc, and Llanddeiniol, Aberystwyth, are dedicated to S. Deiniol.

II. Llanelwy, the name by which S. Asaph was known until the beginning of the 12th century, was co-extensive with the Principality of Powys, and the district of Perfeddwlad, and was founded A.D. 560 by Kentigern, or Cyndeyrn, born in North Britain. According to Welsh hagiography, his paternity was mysteriously unknown; and his mother, under false accusations, was condemned to be thrown over a precipice: here, she was miraculously preserved, and was next sent adrift on the open sea in a small coracle: here again, out of regard to her yet unborn son, He, who had predestined him to be a teacher and a great ruler in His Church, brought her safely to land at Curloss. The child was placed under the care of S. Serf, and so endeared himself to his guardian that he gave him the Welsh name *Mwyn-gu* (dearly-beloved), corrupted to *Mungo*. Under persecution Kentigern, or S. Mungo, fled from Glasgow, where he was

1. "*Apologia Pro Vita Sua*." p. 330.

2. *Councils, &c.* i. 121.

bishop, to S. David at Menevia. Here the two saints were as burning lamps before the Lord, and their ministrations greatly blessed to multitudes. At the request of Caswallon-Law-Hir, the saint retired to North Wales, where he founded a monastery, and the see of Llanelwy. Situate on the Elwy, the Church was called Llanelwy, or the Church-on-the-Elwy, and dedicated under the name of S. Kentigern. In response to a pressing invitation from Rhydderch Hael to resume the charge of his old flock in Scotland, he left the see of S. Asaph, and built a church at Glasgow, which stood on the site of the present Cathedral, which is dedicated under his name. Here he died, and his tomb is still shown in the magnificent crypt of the Cathedral. On the retirement of Kentigern the charge of the see of Llanelwy fell to the hands of his disciple, Asaph—a man eminent for piety and virtue. Llanasa (his church); Ffynnon Asa (his well) ; Onen Asa (his Ash) ; Pant Asa (his hollow), are all in the same neighbourhood, and seem to point out this region as the place of his birth ; and the old legend that pointed out, until lately, a spot in the High St., S. Asaph, as the impression of the hoof of the saints' horse, when he leapt thither from Onen Asa, seems but another version of the same idea.¹

III. The Diocese of S. David's embraced the principality of Dyfed. The "*Annales Cambriae*" agree with Rhyddmarch in ascribing the founding of this see to S. David. The preservation of the name of an earlier bishop, already residing at Old Menevia, indicates the existence of a religious establishment there before the time of S. David. The extent of this diocese varied considerably at different times.

1. His Dio. S. Asaph 5.

At present its extent exceeds that of any other diocese in England or Wales,¹ being, in area, 2,360,000 acres. The accounts of the successor of S. David in this see are conflicting. The '*Liber Landavensis*' says that S. Teilo of Llandaff consecrated S. Ishmael, to succeed his old master, S. David. Another tradition is that Teilo himself succeeded to the see.

IV. Llanbadarn, co-extensive with the principality of Ceredigion, including however only the northern half of modern Cardiganshire, but together with Brecknockshire north of the Irfon, and the western portion of Radnorshire, and perhaps also one or two parishes in Montgomeryshire.² The founder of the see was S. Padarn, a contemporary of S. David and S. Teilo, and the three are always associated together in history. This see was merged in that of S. David's, probably not long after A.D. 720.³

V. Llanafanfawr, in Breconshire, appears from dedication of churches, to have been a diocesan centre for a short time, either contemporary with Llanbadarn (the seat of the episcopate being transferred for the time from Llanbadarn to Llanafanfawr) or taken out of it.⁴ Nothing is known of the history of such a see: but S. Afan, being one of S. Padarn's companions, must have followed him closely in date, and the see must have been speedily merged again in that of Llanbadarn, and then both in that of S. David's.⁵

1. St Asaph is 1,067,583 acres; Bangor, 985,946; Llandaff, 797,864.

2. Councils &c. i. 145.

3. Councils &c., i. 145.

4. Rees "*Welsh Saints*." 208. 9.

5. Councils &c. i. 146.



Llandaff Cathedral.

VI. Llandaff, for the principality of Gwent, ultimately embracing the whole kingdom of Morganwg, was founded, according to their Lives in the Libr. Landav., by Dubricius,

or Dyfrig, and in some way more especially by Teilo.¹ The former died A.D. 612.² There are two lives of S. Dubricius extant: the first apparently a memorial homily, abridged from an earlier compilation, and must have been written during the interval between the translation of the remains of S. Dubricius from Bardsey to Llandaff. A.D. 1120, and the publication of the legendary account of Geoffrey of Monmouth, connecting him with Germanus and King Arthur.³ The other Life is by Benedict, a monk of Gloucester, in the latter half of the same century, and based on the first Life and the account given by Geoffrey of Monmouth. Teilo, according to the legend of his life, was of noble parentage, and succeeded Dubricius in the see of Llandaff. He was named Elios, afterwards corrupted into Eliud, from the Greek *helios* the sun; "for his learning shone as the sun by illustrating the doctrine of the faithful," and was educated by Dubricius, and afterwards by Paulinus, at whose college of Tŷ Gwyn he met S. David. Afterwards Teilo joined SS. David and Padarn in their wonderful pilgrimage to Jerusalem. With all his virtues, Teilo appears to have lacked Christian fortitude, for, when the Yellow Plague raged in his diocese on his return from Jerusalem, he fled to Brittany to escape its ravages. This visitation is thus spoken of in the Triads: "the second pestilence was the yellow plague of Rhôs, which was caused by the carcasses of the slain; and whoever went within reach of the effluvia fell dead immediately."

1. Councils i. 146.

2. Ann. Camb.

3. Ancient British Church. 160.

4. Ussher, p. 290; Liber, Landav. p. 343.

Its symptoms, according to the legend of S. Teilo, were, that all who were seized appeared to become yellow and bloodless. Three visitations of this dreadful plague to the British Isles during the 6th and 7th centuries are recorded. It was probably personified in Wales as the woman whom whosoever saw was doomed to death.¹ Maelgwyn Gwynedd was said to have seen her in the Church of Llanrhos, and to have died in consequence.² On his return to Llandaff, after his escape from the plague, Teilo gathered together those who, like himself, had been scattered abroad from fear. At his death, three parishes, Tenby, Llandaff, and Llandeilo-fawr claimed the saint's body, which was really at the last named place. As a result of a night's prayer and fasting, three bodies were found the next morning exactly alike, and each parish took one. This dispute over the dead body arose no doubt out of regard for the saint himself, and a desire by each parish to have the honour of being the last resting place of his remains: and it was probably not unconnected with the veneration of relics, which began to be practised early in the Christian Church. Oudoceus, said to have been a nephew of Teilo, succeeded him in Llandaff, and is the last of the early bishops of Llandaff of whom any detailed history exists. "It is when we come to deal with the chronology,"³ says the editor of the *Liber Landavensis*,⁴ "that

1. Jolo MSS. p. 78.

2. Myv. Archaeol. Vol. ii. p. 59.

3. "The order of the succession of the Bishops of Llandaff seems to have been Dubricius, Teliau, Oudoceus, Berthguinnus, Trichan, Elvogus, Catgaret, Grecielis, Cerenhir, Nobis, Nud, Cimelliauc, Libian. Gulfrith, Pater, Gucaun, Bledri, the disciples of Dubricius appear as bishops on pp. 160--8. Guodloiu and Edilbin I cannot place. The above order is merely a tentative suggestion."

4 Oxford Edition 1893. Edited by J. Gwenogfryn Evans and Professor John Rhys. This is the reproduction of the Gwysaney Manuscript of the *Liber Landavensis*. Of the authorship of the original MS. the Editor thus

real difficulties arise. There were probably no materials besides the grants to guide the compiler and many grants must have perished, while those which remain are often difficult to date. Evidently no complete list of the bishops had been kept and the very names of some of them may have been lost."

The four Welsh Cathedrals are dedicated under the names of Welsh Saints: S. David's, S. David; Llandaff, S. Teilo; Bangor, S. Deiniol; and S. Asaph, S. Kentigern. A noticeable feature of early Welsh Church History, in connection with the dedication of churches, is that they were not, at first, dedicated under the name of any saint already dead, after the fashion which subsequently became very common;

speaks in the Preface (xviii). "In the Book of Llan Dâv proper, which contains 84 leaves of vellum in good state of preservation, the writing is not all the same, nor does it belong to the same time. The part-author, part-compiler began on column 77 (68) with the words *De primo statu Landavensis Ecclesiae*; and the writing of the principal hand A is so characteristic that he would be illadvised who would venture to assume that it is the work of more than one scribe. The text also bears throughout the impress of so marked an individuality that I am convinced that it is the work of one man, whom I suspect to be no other than Geoffrey of Monmouth. Such a suspicion is a little startling at first, but on examining the probabilities it becomes less and less so. Mr. Haddan and others have assumed that this fine example of calligraphy was penned 'during the episcopate of Urban,' and possibly under his guidance. But what is the proof of this? The MS. itself does not support such an assumption, for, at the very beginning of it Urban is spoken of as the 'aforesaid bishop, a man of blessed memory,' (p. 85), a statement in itself sufficient to preclude the possibility of its being written during Urban's life. The exquisite style of the writing also points to a later time. At first sight one is apt to assign the MS. to the third quarter of the twelfth century. When, however, I came to transcribe it, and to read it over carefully a second, third, fourth, and fifth time, the conclusion was forced upon me that hand A must have been written about 1150. Other considerations support this conclusion. The large bold hand at the beginning of the *Black Book of Carmarthen* belongs, at the latest, to the first part of Henry II's reign. In the *Black Book* the common plural termination is *eu*; the older form *ou* never once occurs. In our text, on the contrary, the *ou* as a plural termination is constant. Thus we find the time of composition limited on the one side by the death of Urban, and on the other by the closing years of Stephen's reign."

but were called after the name of their living founders.¹ This accounts for the fact that the number of churches dedicated to the Apostles are not many in Wales ; and of those enumerated by Ecton, nearly one half can be shown to have had Welsh Saints for their original founders.² A large number of churches in Wales, at the present time, bear the name of the Blessed Virgin—a change effected by the Cistercian monks, whose order was the most influential in Wales during the middle ages, and it was a rule of the order that its religious houses should be so dedicated.³ Rees⁴ points out three successive periods in the history of the dedication of churches in Wales : (1) to the founders ; (2) to S. Michael ; (3) to the Blessed Virgin. Brut-y-Tywysogion A.D. 717, has “ Blwyddyn wedy hynny, ac y kysegruwyd eglwys lann Vi-hangel,”—“ A year after that, and the church of S. Michael was consecrated.” The number of churches dedicated to S. Michael in Wales is considerable. A remnant of the veneration in which the names of S. Mary and S. Michael were held in Wales still remains in the Welsh colloquial terms for the two principal divisions of the year . “ Gwyl Fair,”—“ the Festival of Mary,” the 25th March, and “ Gwyl Mihangel ”---“ the Festival of Michael,” or, according to the Roman term for the Festival, “ Michaelmas,” or the Mass of Michael, on the 29th September.

The name “ Llan,” so common in the topography of Wales, was in early times applied to churches only, and means the “ sacred enclosure,” and was handed down from pre-

1. Councils, &c., i. 155.

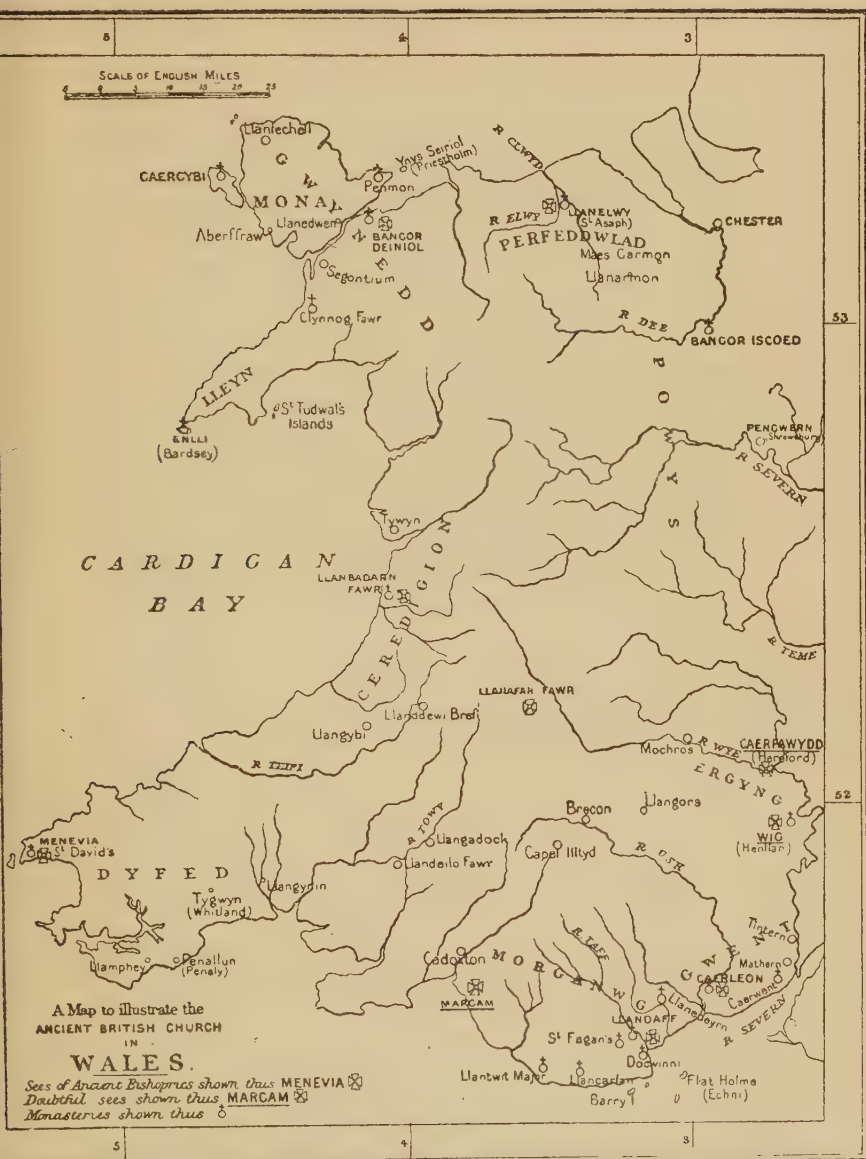
2. “ Welsh Saints,” (Rees) 69.

3. Tanners' Notitia Monastica.

4. “ Welsh Saints,” p. 67.

Christian times, equivalent to the Greek *temenos*. It denotes, however, not merely the church, but also the spot surrounding it. The Llan was divided into two parts, the Corflan—i.e. y Corph-lan, or llan-y-corph—the corpse—enclosure—and Mynwent. The mynwent was the court nearest the church, and the corflan was a more outward yard surrounding the other, and which formed the burial ground. The extent of the corflan, as fixed by law, embraced an acre of ground in length—hence the term “God’s acre” for the church-yard—i.e. 160 square perches of 20 feet each. (Wootton’s *Leges Wallicae* Lib. ii. cap. 8 c. 12 et c. 19, Dr. Pughes’ Dict. voce Erw.) These sacred enclosures, in which the ancient churches of Britain stood, were inalienably and for ever appropriated for divine service. In certain districts, pious individuals added portions of their estates by way of free will offering, and sometimes even satisfactions for outrages committed against the church and clergy augmented the endowment.

The compounds of the word Llan, Côr-lan (fold), gwinllan (vine-yard); per-llan (orchard) imply an enclosure; and when applied to secular uses it always figures as a suffix; but when used as an ecclesiastical term it is always used as a prefix to the name of the saint: e.g. Llan-Ddewi, Llan-badarn. In the rural districts of Wales the term Llan is still more commonly applied to the church edifice and village, than the terms *eglwys* (church) and *pentref* (village.) The term is significant and scriptural, and conveys the idea of a fold or vine-yard—metaphors frequently used by our Lord in speaking of His Church.





S. David's Cathedral.

CHAPTER IX.

S. DEWI—APOSTLE OF THE CYMRŷ..

"O God, who by thy angel didst foretel thy blessed Confessor, S. David, thirty years before he was born, grant unto us, we beseech thee, that, celebrating his memory, we may, by his intercession, attain to joys everlasting".

OLD SARUM COLLECT 1

S. DAVID, or Dewi Sant as he is known in the vernacular, was a grandson to one of the Welsh Kings. According to the computation of Ussher, S. David died A.D. 554, aged 82

1. This Collect was said annually in the old Church of Sarum on the 1st March—S. David's Day—during the Middle Ages. More superstitious honours appear to have been paid to the memory of the Patron Saint of Wales in England, even than in his native country.

years. The order of generations, and the names of contemporaries having rendered it necessary to fix the birth of S. David twenty years later than is fixed by Ussher, his life may be protracted to any period short of 566.¹ But as he was present at the Synod of Llanddewi-brefi A.D. 569 he lived beyond this date. According to the sentiments of an old writer, S. David was sent by heaven as a compensation for the losses his country had sustained, through the hostility of the Saxons. In his youth he is said to have been carefully watched over by a pious mother. Giraldus Cambrensis speaks of his personal appearance as tall and rather spare, affable in manner, strong in argument, loving and beloved. The history of the saints' life has been much encrusted with legendary matter.² The monks, in their extreme veneration for him, asserted that his birth was foretold to S. Patrick thirty years before it took place.

The birth of S. David is said to have taken place near the present S. David's, during a great storm ; but in the immediate spot where he was actually born there was perfect calm. At an early age he was placed under the care of Paulinus, a disciple of S. Germanus, at the monastery of Ty-Gwyn-ar-Dâf. Here he continued for ten years studying the Scriptures, living a secluded life. From thence he removed to the

1. Rees' *Welsh Saints*. p. 194.

2. Among the popular legends the pretended Life of S. David in Welsh, in the Cotton MSS. (D. xxii), is the most remarkable for its spurious embellishments. Of the numerous miracles which it imputes to the saint, two of them precede his birth. It also deduces his pedigree from the Blessed Virgin, of whom it makes him the eighteenth lineal descendant. His death is stated to have taken place on March 1st, when "Jesus Christ took to him the soul of S. David." The title of this book, which is handsomely bound, and dates evidently from the Middle Ages, is "Llyma y treithir o ach Dewi ac o dalym o'i vuchedd." "Here is a record of the Pedigree of S. David, and an account of his Life,"

Valley of Rhos, near the present S. David's, and there founded a religious fraternity, the discipline of which is described as extremely rigorous. From this seclusion he was roused to active public life, by the out-break, once more, of the Pelagian heresy.

A synod of all the clergy of Wales was convened shortly before A.D. 569¹, at Llanddewi-brefi, in Cardiganshire, to consider the most effectual means of suppressing this heresy. "The locality of the first synod, Llanddewi-brefi, near the Roman station of Loventium rests upon Rhyddmarch. That of the second was probably in the neighbourhood of Llanddewi, but is unknown. The omission of Lucus, apparently led to the after thought of the common explanation of the name (*Lucus Victoriæ*). There is a wooded spot four miles from Llanddewi-brefi, and therefore close to Loventium, and to a Roman tumulus still existing, called however Llwyn Garu (— *Lucus Amoris*) ; which may perhaps be the place. A battle was probably fought there with loss to the Romans. Garu is changed now into garw or rough."² Continuing their observations, Haddan and Stubbs say : "Rhydd-march expressly states that all records of either Synod at St. David's were lost in his time, through the incursions of Northmen ; for which see abundant evidence in *Ann. Camb. Brut. y Tywysog.*, & the *Ann. Menev* in Wharton. A. S. ii. 649. That the Synods were confirmed "*Romana auctoritate*," rests therefore upon Rhyddmarch in the 11th century : and the assertion is obviously absurd as applied to the Welsh Church."³

1. Councils, &c. (Haddan and Stubbs) i. 116.

2. Councils &c., i. 117.

3. *Ibid.*, i, 117.

At this Synod all the bishops, abbots, and religious of different orders, assembled. When many discourses had been delivered publicly, and proved ineffectual to reclaim the Pelagians, Paulinus, a bishop, very earnestly entreated that the saint should be sent for. Messengers were despatched for that purpose, but their importunity was of no avail with the holy man, he being so fully given up to contemplation that urgent necessity only could induce him to pay any regard to temporal concerns. At last, two holy men, S. Deiniol, Bishop of Bangor, and S. Dubricius, Bishop of Llandaff, went to S. David. Foreknowing their visit, by the spirit of prophecy, the saint said to the brethren, "To-day, most holy brethren, men are coming to us; receive them with a joyful mind, and procure fish with bread and water for their dinner." Arriving at the monastery, they salute each other, and hold spiritual converse; dinner is served; but they refuse to partake, unless they obtain a promise to return with them to the Synod. 'I cannot refuse you,' he replied; 'dine, and we shall visit the Synod together; but then I cannot preach, but in prayer will afford you my assistance, small as it is.'

On their way to the Synod they came across a poor widow, weeping over the corpse of her son. In answer to her cry for pity, S. David prayed to God, and her son was restored to life. "Then," continues Rhyddmarch, "he went to the Synod, and the multitude of bishops rejoice, the people are glad, all the company exult, and when requested to preach he does not refuse.....And when he was preaching, which was with so clear a voice that he was heard by all, and equally by those who were nearest and those who were farthest off, the earth swelling is raised to a hill, and placed on its top he is seen by all as standing on a high mountain, and exalting his voice as a trumpet. On the top of this hill a church has

been placed ; the heresy is expelled, the Faith is confirmed in sound minds, and they all agree that thanks should be paid to God and S. David."

The Church in Wales flourished in the days of S. David, who, as an ecclesiastic, a man of piety, learning, and intellect, stood above his contemporaries in Wales. He drew up a code of laws for the regulation of the Welsh Church, a copy of which is said to have existed in S. David's Cathedral, till it was destroyed by pirates. "In those days," says Giraldus, "in the territory of Cambria the Church of God flourished exceedingly, and ripened with much fruit every day. Monasteries were built everywhere ; many congregations of the faithful of various orders were collected to celebrate with fervent devotion the Sacrifice of Christ. But to all of them Father David, as if placed on a lofty eminence, was a mirror and a pattern of life. He informed them by words, and he instructed them by example ; as a preacher, most powerful through his eloquence, but more so in his works."¹

A legendary halo surrounds the story of the death-bed of S. David. "When the day for distributing holy rewards to the meritorious was near, on the 22nd of February, as the brethren were celebrating the morning hours, an angel spoke to him, saying with a clear voice, 'The day so long desired is now accounted close at hand.' The holy bishop, knowing the friendly voice, said to him with a joyful mind, 'Now, Lord, let Thy servant depart in peace.' But the brethren receiving only the sounds into their ears, had not heard nor understood the meaning of the words ; for, on their being spoken, they were terrified and fell to the earth. Then the whole city is filled with the music of angels and sweet smell-

1, "Welsh Saints." (Rees), p. 196.

ing fragrance. And the saint himself, speaking in a loud voice, and with a mind upraised to heaven, says, 'Lord Jesu Christ, receive my spirit.'.....And so the report was carried, most swiftly in one day, throughout all Britain and Ireland, by an angel, saying, 'Know ye that next week our lord, holy David, will depart from this world to the Lord.' Then came a concourse of saints from all sides, like bees from a hive at the approach of a storm, and hastened quickly to see the holy father.....Then the voice of all the faithful was raised in mourning and lamentation.....From the Sunday night to the fourth day after his departure, all who came remained weeping, fasting, and watching. When the third day came the city filled at the time of cock crowing with angelic choirs, is musical with heavenly songs, and full of sweetest fragrance. In the morning the clergy having sung psalms and hymns, the Lord Jesus condescended to bestow his presence for the consolation of the father, as He promised by the Angel. When he saw Him, exulting greatly in spirit, he said 'Take me with Thee.' With these words, having Christ for his companion, he gave his life up to God, and attended by the Angelic host, he went to the heavenly country."¹

Such is the legend of the death of S. David. Faith in the reality of heavenly visions in the hour of death, is by no means confined to the time in which S. David lived,—

"In all ages
Every human heart is human."

Such visions are indeed mysterious, but instances of them are some times so well authenticated in our own time,² that it

1. "Cambro British Saints," 417, 418.

2. The last words of Sir Walter Scott (1771—1832) were: "Lockhart, I may have but a minute to speak you. My dear, be a good man: be virtuous, be religious: be a good man. Nothing else will give you any comfort when you come to lie here."

Speaking of the death-bed of the Rev. F. W. Robertson, of Brighton,

is difficult to doubt that the glory of heaven strikes the eye of some dying Christians, in a degree beyond the penetration of the living, as in the case of S. Stephen.² So our Church teaches us to pray, that "we may steadfastly look up to heaven, and by faith behold the glory that shall be revealed."³ Often-times when the body is weakened, and the soul about to depart, the veil which, as it were, divides the natural from the supernatural, is partly drawn aside, and a glimpse of the glory beyond is granted to the eye of faith. It was with reference to such experiences that the poet said :—

"The soul's dark cottage, battered and decayed,
Lets in new light through chinks that time has made ;
Stronger by weakness, wiser men become,
As they draw nearer their eternal home.
Leaving the old, both worlds at once they view,
And stand upon the threshold of the new."

The exact date of the death of S. David is uncertain. Ussher puts it in the year 554. The "*Annales Cambriae*" in 601. He was buried in S. David's Cathedral; and his shrine, which is still shown, was held in so great veneration that it drew pilgrims not only from all parts of the kingdom, but also from abroad. William the Conqueror, Henry II., Edward I. and his Queen, are said to have been among the votaries. Two journeys to Menevia were considered equal to one journey to Rome.

The churches and chapels founded by S. David in South Wales are no fewer than 53. North Wales has a few churches built to his memory, and it is a curious fact that they are all modern. England has also some churches bearing his name.

(1816—1853), his biographer writes, (vol. ii. 222), "He retained to the last his deep delight in the beauty of God's world. He got up once, when scarcely able to move, at 4 o'clock, and crept to the window to see the beautiful morning. His hope and trust in his heavenly Father never failed during this dreadful time. He felt assured of his immortality in Christ. A night or two before he died he dreamt that his two sisters, long since dead, came to crown him, 'I saw them,' he said earnestly."

2. Acts vii. 56.

3. Collect for S. Stephen's Day.

CHAPTER X.

A.D. 596—604.

CONFERENCES OF THE WELSH BISHOPS WITH S. AUGUSTINE.

"Both parties were aware that the object of the projected conference was to decide, whether the two branches of the Holy Catholic Church now existing in the land, should unite under one head, that head being the Archbishop of Canterbury."

DEAN HOOK.¹

THE mission of S. Augustine to the Anglo-Saxons A.D. 596, by direction of Pope² Gregory the Great, is an epoch in the history of the Church of the Cymry, and marks the date of the founding of the Anglo-Saxon Church.

Augustine, soon after his consecration as Archbishop of Canterbury, assumed the authority of a metropolitan. He sent two messengers to Rome, A.D. 598, with letters to Gregory, asking for instructions as to the action he should take towards the Welsh Church. Of the twelve questions he put to Gregory, the second and the seventh have a direct

1. Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, i. 66.

2. In the time of Gregory, and up to the 10th century, the title Pope (Papa) was given to all bishops in general; and the title itself did not then have the exclusive meaning which it now has; when, so far as the Western Church is concerned, it was confined exclusively to designate the Bishop of Rome (Dollinger ii. 219. Ed. London, 1840). The title "Father (Papa) in God," is still retained by the Bishops of the Church of England; and the familiar title pa-pa is evidence of the extension of the term to every father of a family.

reference to this point. (1) "Whereas there is but one faith, why are there different customs in different churches? and why is one custom of masses observed in the holy Roman Church, and another in the Gallican Church?" (2) "How are we to deal with the Bishops of France and Britain?"²

On the first of these two points Gregory advised the adoption of a tolerant spirit, harmonizing, as far as possible, with the local requirements of the people. "Choose," he said, "from every church those things that are pious, religious, and upright, and when those have been collected together let the mind of the English be accustomed thereto."³

The other question Gregory answered to this effect: "We give you no authority over the Bishops of France, because the Bishop of Arles received the pall in ancient times from my predecessor, and we ought by no means to deprive him of the authority he has received. But as to all the Bishops of Britain, we commit them to your care, that the unlearned may be taught, the feeble strengthened by persuasion, and the perverse corrected by authority."

Although Gregory himself disclaimed the title of Universal Bishop; and, in his controversy with John the Faster, denounced the title as heretical and anti-Christian, his answer to Augustine contains the germ of the doctrine of papal supremacy: for he exempts the Church of France from the jurisdiction of Augustine, because it already had received the pall from his predecessor—a mark of submission to Rome. By a Canon of the Council of Lateran, A.D. 1215, it was

2. Bede Lib. iii.

3. Epistle xi. 64.

enacted that the pall¹ should be regarded as a mark of full apostolic power, and when receiving it an oath of allegiance to the Pope was to be taken. Hook² argues that the pall was not a token of dependence on the see of Rome in Gregory's time, but simply a mark of favour and personal consideration on the part of the giver. But the wording of Gregory's answer to Augustine does not warrant this interpretation. "We," says Gregory, "give you no authority over the Bishops of France, *because* the Bishop of Arles received the pall in ancient times from our predecessor, and we ought by no means to deprive him of the *authority he has received*."

Gregory makes no mention in his answer to Augustine, that the British Church ever received the pall. S. David is sometimes depicted wearing the pall, as archbishop: but as Wales never had a metropolitan, the pall was never conferred, much less was it accepted by the Welsh Church as a badge of submission to Rome; and the committing of the Welsh Church to the care of Augustine was an unwarrantable assumption of authority on the part of Gregory, and a breach of the decrees of the General Council of

1. The pattern of the pall, which became a mere ornament, may be seen



Arms of the see of
Canterbury

in the arms of the Archi-episcopal sees of Canterbury, Armagh and Dublin. It was a strip of woolen cloth, worn across the shoulders, to which were appended two other strips of the same material, one of them falling over the breast, and the other hanging down the back, both marked with a red cross, (see illustration). But the pallium in use in the time of Gregory was a magnificent robe of state flowing down to the feet.

2. Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury i. 27.

Ephesus, A.D. 431, which stipulated, "that no Bishop should occupy another province which has not been subject to him from the beginning."

There is no record that Gregory himself held any direct communication with the Welsh Bishops. He, probably, regarded the Welsh as a conquered race, and their absorption as merely a question of time.

On receipt of his instructions from Rome, Augustine lost no time in arranging a conference with the Welsh Bishops, which took place A.D. 602 or 603, somewhere on the confines of Herefordshire, probably at Austcliffe, the usual ferry across the Severn, and which divides it from Wales. There is a place near named Aust, probably from Awstin, the Welsh form of Augustine. The conference is known as the "Synod of the Oak," because Augustine is said to have sat under the branches of an oak tree, to meet the Welsh Bishops.

This invitation to conference was accepted by the Welsh Bishops on what they considered terms of equality: and the invitation itself was a full admission on the part of Rome of the ministerial authority of the Welsh Bishops. The failure to unite the Italian mission to the Church of the Cymry was due, in a great measure, to Augustine himself. Had he shown a more conciliatory spirit towards a people more easily led than driven, he might have succeeded. If catholicity is not only one of the notes of the church, but also one of its safeguards, it would be a serious evil if the church were contracted within the narrow range of particular nationalities. Augustine was an Italian, lacking the lofty spirit and broad sympathies of his master. The Welsh Bishops dreaded, probably, far more the influence of a metropolitan at Canterbury, than the influence of the far off Bishop of Rome. Was it, then, entirely the conduct of

Augustine that prevented the fusion of the two churches? Or, was it the assumption of authority by Gregory over the Welsh Bishops? It was both the one and the other; to which may be added a third cause—race enmity. Had there been any acceptance, real or implied, of the supremacy of Rome on the part of the Welsh Bishops, they would have submitted to Augustine as the representative of the Bishop of Rome. The articles put forward by Augustine for the acceptance of the Welsh Bishops were: (1) that they should observe Easter after the Roman fashion. The Britons, holding to the Western custom, sanctioned by the Council of Arles A.D. 314, kept the 14th day of the Paschal moon, if it happened to be a Sunday, as Easter Day. This had also been the custom of the Church of Rome at one time; but it was changed in accordance with the decree of the Council of Nicea, which decided that when the 14th day of the paschal moon fell upon a Sunday, Easter Day must be on the Sunday after. (2) The use of the tonsure. The Welsh clergy were accustomed to shave an imperfect circle of hair from ear to ear, across the front of the head in the shape of a crescent, and leaving the hair on the hinder part of the head untouched, while the Italians shaved their heads in the form of a crown, according to the tonsure of S. Peter, which consisted of a circle of hair round the shorn head, said to represent the crown of thorns, and called the coronal tonsure.¹ The different tonsures marked the difference between the clergy of the Roman and Welsh communions in the time of Augustine, as much as the whisker of the Anglican clergyman² distinguishes him now from

1. See illustration p. 95.

2. A curious fact of modern Welsh history may be worth noting here. Until within recent years, the parting of the hair was discarded by all good Welsh Methodists and Nonconformists as a mark of pride—the orthodox fashion being to allow the hair to fall over the forehead in a fringe. Charles

the Roman priest. The question of tonsure introduced by Augustine seems almost too trivial to notice ; but it was no doubt urged as a matter of outward discipline, and its adoption by the Welsh clergy was intended as a mark of submission to the authority of Rome.

The third condition laid down by Augustine was, that the Welsh clergy should join him in preaching the Gospel to the Saxons. The Welsh Bishops have been blamed for refusing to comply with this apparently reasonable request. But the necessity of the Italian mission may have arisen more out of the unwillingness of the Saxons to hear the Gospel from the despised and conquered Britons, than from the reluctance of the latter to engage in the work. Posterity may well judge leniently the action of the Welsh Bishops herein, when it is remembered that the English Church had no organized system of foreign missions for upwards of 150 years after the Reformation, taking that event to date from 1534. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was not founded till A.D. 1701, and the Church Missionary Society not till 1799. If the convulsions attending that great change in the history of our Church took so long a time to subside, and so retarded her work of foreign missions, and she had so much to do to set her own house in order at home, we may well ask ourselves the question, what must have been the confused state of things in the British Church when Augustine came over in 596.

Bede, by no means favourable to the British Church, praises the Britons, and holds them out as patterns ; and the

of Bala (1755—1814) ; John Elias (1774—1841), and Christmas Evans (1766—1838), had no such parting, and are so represented in prints. It was also the common custom among Nonconformist preachers to shave the face as closely as if they had been priests of the Church of Rome. I cannot recall a single instance of their wearing a beard, or a moustache, in the period of Charles of Bala, and for a long time afterwards.

success of their missionaries, though often overlooked, is as remarkable as it is praiseworthy. The northern half of Anglo-Saxon Britain was converted to Christianity, not by Augustine, but by Celtic missionaries who passed through Bernicia and Deira into East Anglia, Mercia, and even Wessex. The bitterness of feeling existing among the Britons,¹ owing to their merciless treatment by the invaders, may be well imagined, and read in the parallel pages of modern history. With all the advance of religion and civilization, any attempt by France, since the War of 1870, to convert Germany to "the old religion," would be scorned by the one, and unwillingly undertaken by the other, on political as well as religious grounds. Referring to St. Augustine's reproof respecting the non-conversion of the Saxons, the Welsh Bishops quickly replied, "How can we preach to the cruel nations which have taken our inheritance, driven us from our home, and destroyed our churches." The charge of want of missionary zeal cannot be laid against the British Church, when the lives of such Celtic missionaries as S. Ninian, S. Patrick, S. Columba (dove,²) and S. Cyndeyrn (Kentigern) tell a different story. The fame of S. Columba's mission after he set foot, A.D. 565, on the little island called after his name, but better known as Iona, is too well known to need more than a passing reference. The tradition of the journey, A.D. 584, made by S. Columba to Glasgow to show his regard

1. How great was the terror with which the Britons regarded the English invaders, appears from the effect which, according to a 12th century tradition, the sound of an English voice produced on the mind of S. Beuno. Returning immediately, he said to his disciples; 'My sons, put on your clothes and your shoes, and let us leave this place, for this man's nation has a strange language, and is abominable, and I heard his voice on the other side of the river; they have invaded this place, and it will be theirs, and they will keep it in their possession.' *Cambro. Brit. SS.* 302.

2. The Welsh word for dove is 'Colomen.'

for S. Kentigern, shows the inter-communion which existed between the two churches. Both bishops met attended by a number of their clergy. At the close of several days of pious conversation, the two exchanged pastoral staffs,¹ as a token of equality and brotherly love.



SS. Columba and Cyndeyrn exchanging pastoral staffs.

To return to S. Augustine. This conference having failed, Augustine had recourse to the miraculous—the restoration

1. The staff given by S. Columba to S. Cyndeyrn, inlaid with gold and studded with jewels, was preserved in Ripon Minster until the 15th century. —Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, iii. 30.

of sight to a blind Anglo-Saxon,¹ and which had the effect on the Britons of their demanding a second conference.

The problem whether a fact that appears on the face of it miraculous is so or not, is not always very easy to determine. In this case, the alleged miracle would have been more convincing in its effects on the representatives of the British Church, had it been performed on one of their own number. Cardinal Lingard, an apologist for the miracles of Augustine, admits that our ancestors, being persuaded of the continuance of miracles among them, would take but little trouble to investigate the physical or moral causes of the event which excited their wonder or gratitude : and with regard to the miracle in question, the same writer admits that the particulars with which the conference is said to have been held deserve but little credit.² The same historian expresses surprise, that so many modern writers should have represented the Welsh as holding different doctrines from those professed by the Roman missionaries, though they have never yet produced a single instance of such difference. "Would Augustine," he asks, "have required the British clergy to join in the conversion of the Saxons, if they had taught doctrines which he condemned? Bede has related with great minuteness all the controversies between the two parties. They all regard points of discipline. Nowhere does the remotest hint occur of any difference respecting doctrine."³

The difficulties of effecting a union of the Welsh and Roman Churches were not, indeed, insurmountable in Augustine's time ; for they did not affect questions of doc-

1. Bede. ii. 2.

2. Anglo-Saxon Church, i. D. 68. Note,

3. Ibid i. 55 Note,

trine. But it is equally true that if Augustine had put forward the doctrines of Papal Supremacy and Infallibility—not to mention other doctrines, which were strange even to the Church of Rome at that time,—they would have proved an affectual barrier to any desire on the part of the Welsh Bishops to meet him a second time in conference. The mediæval accretions to the Creed of the Church of Rome, by no means unanimously accepted even by the Councils¹ that decreed them, have widened the breach between her and the other churches of Christendom. The Anglicanism of to-day claims to be a truer representative, as to Catholic doctrine, of the British Church of Augustine's time, than the Anglo-Romanism of the present day can claim to be of the Anglo-Saxon Church of the same period.

The second conference was attended by seven British Bishops, together with some of the most learned of the monks of Bangor-is-y-coed monastery. “Llyma'r Esgobion a fuant yn dadlu ag Awstin Esgob Y Saeson ar lan Hafren yn Deuau nid angen : Escob Caer-fawdd a elwir Henffordd (Hereford); 2. Escob Teilaw (Llandaff); 3. Escob Padarn; 4. Escob Bangor; 5. Escob Elwy (S. Asaph); 6. Escob y Wig; 7. Escob Morganwg,”² (from the Book of Llanganna.) “The

1. It is remarkable that in the Councils of Trent (1563) and of the Vatican (1870) which developed the Church of Rome into what it now is in doctrine, discipline, and government, the decrees passed were repugnant to the judgment of the most learned of the prelates and divines there assembled, and were carried by Papal influence alone. Dr Dollinger, the most learned divine in the Vatican Council, quitted the Church of Rome after that Council, and was the founder of the “Old Catholic movement.” He afterwards made overtures to the Church of England, and the “Old Catholics” were admitted to be in communion with her.

2. Iolo MSS. (143—548.) “Here are the bishops who went to discuss with Augustine the Bishop of the English on the banks of the Severn in the South, none other than the Bishop of Hereford; 2. Bishop Teilaw (Llandaff); 3. Bishop Padarn; 4. Bishop of Bangor; 5. Bishop of S. Elwy (S. Asaph); 6. Bishop of Wig; 7. Bishop of Glamorgan.

list is," according to Haddan and Stubbs,¹ "the conjecture of some medieval Welsh antiquary. Otherwise it might be possible to account for the omission of S. David from it, by the fact of S. Davids' death in A.D. 601. And Hereford may very well have been a British see before it was a Saxon one. All that can be said, however, is that this is the most probable of all the lists that have been conjectured."

On their way to the conference the Welsh Bishops consulted a hermit, eminent for his piety and wisdom. He advised them to follow Augustine, if he were a man of God. "How are we to know that?" they asked, "Our Lord," replied the anchorite, 'hath said, Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly of heart.' If Augustine be meek and lowly of heart, he bears the yoke of Christ, in all that he will seek to lay on you. But if he is proud and haughty, clearly he is not of God, and we may reject his proposals.' "And how shall we know this?" they asked. "Arrange so," said he, "that Augustine may arrive first with his friends at the place where the conference is to be held, and if at your approach he shall rise up to receive you, listen to him submissively; but if he shall despise you, not rising up to do you honour when you are more in number, let him also be despised by you."

This advice was carefully followed.

Arriving at the place of conference, they found Augustine seated in a chair, 'more Romano,' or, after the Roman custom, as Henry of Huntingdon observes. As the Welsh Bishops advanced, he continued sitting, little knowing how much depended on his conduct. His behaviour at

i. Councils, &c., i. 148 (Note.)



British Bishops in conference with Augustine.

once settled the questions at issue. Charging Augustine with pride, the Welsh Bishops endeavoured to contradict all he said, opposed all his demands, and refused to acknowledge him as their metropolitan ; for, they said, "if he does not condescend to rise up to receive us, how much more will he slight us when we shall accept his authority ?" It is, however, possible that the Welsh Bishops may have taken offence

where no offence was intended. Augustine *saf* after the Roman fashion,¹ and the hasty nature of the Celtic blood, coupled with the words of the hermit, gave a false colouring to the action of Augustine.

Augustine is said to have lost his temper; and in an angry speech, warns them in words which appeared to Bede to be prophetic of a divine vengeance from their enemies, the Saxons, for their refusal to join him in preaching to them the Gospel of peace.

At the close of the conference, Dunawd, the abbot of Bangor-is-y-coed, is said to have handed Augustine the following Protest; which is inserted here, not on account of its genuineness, but as a curious and interesting document.

“Bid ispis a diogel i chwi yn bod ni holl un ac arral, yn widd ac ynn ostingedig i eglwys Duw ac i'r Paab o Ruvain ac i boob kyar Grissdion dwyuol, y garu pawb yn i radd mewn kariad perffaith, ac i helpio paub o honaunt, ar air a gweithred i vod ynn blant y Duw: ac amgenach vuyddod no hwn nid adwen i vod, ac i'r neb i'r iddich chwi yn henwi yn Baab, ne in daad o daade, yw gleimio ac yw ovunn: ar uvyddfod hwn ir iddin ni vavod yw rodidi ac yw dalu iddo ef, ac i bob Kristion yn dragwiddol. Hevid ir ydym ni dan lywodraeth Esgob Kaerllion ar Wysc, yr hwn ysydd yn oligwr dan Duw arnom ni, y wneuthud i ni gadw'r ffordd ysprydol.”²

Spelman first published the text of this alleged Protest from an old MS.—a copy of a supposed original document—in the possession of Mr. Peter Mostyn. The objections to its

1. “Romano more in sella residens.” Henric Huntindonensis, Hist. Lib. iii.

2. Councils, &c., i. 122.

genuineness are fatal. (1) The Protest would be in Latin, if presented at all, as the language understood by both parties, and the one in which the conference was probably conducted. Spelman gives a Latin and English version of it—but they are his own: (2) the style of the Welsh is too modern for the period of Augustine: (3) Spelman only copied from a copy of a supposed original document. But we need not concern ourselves as to the exact terms in which the Protest was worded, when it is an admitted fact that the Welsh Bishops so resisted the assumed authority of Augustine that, according to Bede, the absolute grant of jurisdiction given to him by the Pope over the British Church was suppressed,¹ if Bede's narrative be trusted, and (it must be supposed) from less worthy motives; "unless indeed we are to infer, that in real fact it was brought forward, and was the rock upon which the conference was wrecked, an interpretation of Bede's narrative not unlikely, and actually adopted by the tradition represented in Dinot's alleged Answer."²

S. Gregory and S. Augustine died in the same year, A.D. 605. The latter was buried near the then unfinished church of SS. Peter and Paul, in the ground now occupied by the Kent and Canterbury Hospital.³

1. Bede H. E. i. 27.

2. Councils, &c., i' 152 (Note).

3. Hook's Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury i. 79.



Bangor on the Menai Straits, with S. Seiriol's Isle in the distance
off Penmon, on the Anglesey coast.

CHAPTER XI.

WELSH MONASTERIES.

"In the bare midst of Anglesey they show
Two springs which close by one another play ;

1. Now known as Puffin Island, from the large number of puffins found there at one time. The island is still known in the vernacular as "Ynys Seiriol," or "S. Seiriol's Isle."

And "Thirteen hundred years ago," they say,
 Two saints met often where these waters flow.
 One came from Penmon westward, and a glow
 Whiten'd his face from the sun's fronting ray :
 Eastward the other, from the dying day,
 And he with unsunn'd face did always go,
 "Seiriol the Bright,¹ Kybi the Dark,² men said."

MATHEW ARNOLD.

THE strength of the Church of the Cymry on her settlement in Wales centered in the monastic system. Bands of holy men traversed the wilds of Wales together, generally in groups of twelve, in imitation of the Apostolic number. Having secured a settlement, they built a rude hut, often over, or near to, the grave of some saint. Herein they led a simple life by fixed rules, preaching Christianity, and giving proof of their sincerity by ministering to the temporal and spiritual wants of the poor and needy, the sick and the dying. In every age the Church has possessed such men. The strange cry of S. John the Baptist came from the wilderness, and attracted crowds to see and hear him. The deserts of Egypt and Syria were filled with a population, which had escaped from the tumult and commotion which convulsed the world, in the awful times of the dissolution of the Roman Empire. So it was during the social convulsions of the Middle Ages, when the cloister was like "a speck of blue in a heaven of storm," and made the monastic life the ideal of the noblest souls.

The Welsh monasteries numbered twenty five,³ and were
 1. Cor-Eurgain. 2. Bangor Wydrin. 3. Bangor Illtyd.
 4. Cor Emrys. 5. Bangor-is-y-coed, called also Bangor in Maelor, and Bangor Dunawd. 6. Rhos, afterwards called

1. "Seiriol Wyn." 2. "Cybi Felun."

3. Ab Ithel's *Eccl. Antiq. of the Cymry*. 211.

Menevia. 7. Henllan on the Wye. 8. Mochros on the Wye. 9. Llancarvan. 10. Caerleon. 11. Ty Gwyn ar Daf. 12. Bangor Deilō. 13. Llangenys. 14. Cor Enlli, or Bardsey. 15. Caerwent. 16. Llanedeyrn in Glamorgan-shire. 17. Bangor Deiniol on the banks of the Menai in Caernarvonshire, called also Bangor Vawr yn Arfon. 18. Cŏr Seiriol in Penmon, Anglesey. 19. Llanbadarn Fawr. 20. Llowes, in Radnorshire. 21. Cor Ceunydd, Glamorgan-shire. 22. Trallwng, or Welshpool. 23. Llanelwy, or St. Asaph. 24. Caergybi, or Holyhead. 25. Clynnog in Caernarvonshire.

These early monasteries were rude structures, and never approached the solidarity and grandeur of the Welsh monasteries of the Middle Ages. Wattle and daub were the materials used by S. Columba² to build his monastery in Iona; and the monasteries of Wales were not of a superior kind. Built on the coasts, as many of the Welsh monasteries were as affording greater security from the attacks of the enemy, the sea became as attractive to the contemplative mind of the Welsh monk, as the mountain and the flood of the inner recesses of Wales proved to be to the Cistercians of the Middle Ages. S. David, from his seclusion on S. David's Head, with the open bay before him, learnt more of the infinitude of God, than he ever did from his intercourse with man. And S. Deiniol, who had a keen eye to the beautiful

², There are many pretty stories related of the love and gentleness of S. Columba. "It was the last day in the life of S. Columba," says Adamnan, "when as the Saint, bowed down with age, sat down to rest himself, a white pack horse belonging the monastery came up to him, and laying its head on his breast uttered a plaintive cry, as if conscious of the approaching death of his master. The servant seeing this was about to drive it away, but the Saint forbade him, saying, 'Suffer, suffer the poor animal that is fond of me to pour out his bitter wail into my bosom.' And saying this the Saint blessed the horse, which turned away from him in sadness." V. S. Columb.

in nature, was not less amenable to such influences, when he first pitched his tent at Bangor on the Menai Straits.

The name Bangor, very common in the early history of the Church of the Cymry, is itself suggestive of a monastery. *Côr* or choir, was the term applied to bands of itinerant bishops, or monks, in Wales in early times. The centres from which the missionaries went forth claimed precedence over the districts, or choirs, within their respective spheres, and assumed the prefix "*Ban*," an old Welsh word for high or superior—much the same as the prefix "*arch*" is added to bishopric—hence *Ban-gor* means "*High-choir*." Although the word "*Ban*" has now become almost obsolete, it is retained in its original meaning in the Welsh Book of Common Prayer, i.e. "*Bannau y Llyfr hwn*,"—"the Contents, or principal matter in this Book;" also in the Catechism "*Adrodd i mi Fannau dy Ffydd*,"—"Rehearse the articles (or cardinal points, as the Welsh has it) of thy belief." There is also a trace of the original meaning of the word in "*Bannau Brycheiniog*"—the "*Breconshire Beacons*," and in the word *ban-llef*, a high or loud cry.

The round of daily life in these Bangors was not unlike that of a country parsonage. Celibacy was not enjoined. *Dunawd*, the Abbot of *Bangor-is-y-coed*, was married: and his wife *Dwywe*—under whose name the church of *Llanddwywe*, near Barmouth, is dedicated—is ranked among the Welsh saints. They had three sons *Deiniol*, *Cynwal*, and *Gwarthan*. *Deiniol* was also married, and had one son, *Deiniolen*, or *Deiniol ap Deiniol Ail*, called also *Deiniol Fab*. *Deiniol*, the father, was a member of the monastery of *Bangor-is-y-coed*, before he removed to Bangor in *Caernarvonshire*.

Bangor-is-y-coed, or *Bangor Monachorum*, situate amidst

charming scenery and fertile meadows on the banks of the Dee,¹ was founded and endowed by King Cyngen, and had for its abbot, Dunawd, a noted warrior in his time, and described in the Triads as one of the three pillars of his country in battle. The number of its monks was so large that, being divided into seven parts, with a provost over each, none of the divisions contained less than three hundred men, who all lived by manual labour;² and prayer was offered up day and night without ceasing, by one hundred brethren in turns. This was the most ancient and illustrious of the monasteries of the early British Church, and noted for its missionary zeal, and its resistance to English invasion. And the tragic death of its monks has added to its fame in history. "For every reason this tragedy at Bangor Monachorum deserves this pause which we have made in following the 'holy' stream: and the stream at this point may well seem to have been rendered more holy by this occurrence. The sad poetry of the event has struck many minds, and, among others, the mind of Sir Walter Scott, who, in a short ballad, sings of Chester beleagured by the heathen; of Bangor's holy anthem 'floating down the sylvan Dee'; of the peaceful monks struck down

1. Dyfrdwy—Deva, or Dee. The Welsh name of the Dee is variously derived, (1) Dwfr-dwy-afon (the Water-of-two-rivers), from the fact of its springing from two streams, which take their rise in the parish of Llanuwchllyn, above Bala Lake, i.e., y Ddwyfan and y Ddwyfach, at the foot of the Dduallt. Dr. Davies, in his Welsh-Latin Dictionary, has Deva—Dee. (2) Giraldus calls it Daverdoeu, the full spelling of which would now be, according to Proff. Rhys, Dyfrdwyw or Dwfrdwyf (the Water of the Divinity), from the fact of its waters having been held sacred, and so many pious legends being connected with its history (3) Dwfr-du, or Black water, from its source, the Dduallt, or Black hill. Whichever of these three derivations be the correct one, there can be no doubt of the great historic prominence of the Dee. There is, perhaps, no other river in the Kingdom that takes precedence of it in this respect, no one which furnishes a more fertile source for archæological research.

2. Bede Eccl. Hist. .ii, 3.

and slaughtered ; and of the shattered ruins ' which long told the tale.'¹



Bangor-is-y-coed Bridge over the Dee, showing the
Church Tower.

Ethelfrith, the pagan king of Northumbria, having conquered Chester, invaded Wales, A.D. 613, and declared that if the monks of Bangor prayed against him they were his enemies. A Hengwrt MS. says that the monks were there to plead that their monastery might be spared. Dunawd, the abbot, before the battle began, made an oration to the

1. "The River Dee : its Aspect and History" (Howson) p. 57.

army, and commanded the soldiers to kiss the ground in commemoration of the communion of the body of Christ; and to take up water into their hands out of the Dee that ran close by, and drink it in remembrance of his sacred blood which was shed for them. Observing them standing apart in a safe place, and learning that they were the monks of Bangor-is-y-coed, Ethelfrith ordered them to be attacked first. "If they cry to their God against us, though they do not bear arms, they are fighting against us," said the King. Out of 1250 monks, said to have been on the field of battle, only 50 escaped the terrible slaughter, and they ultimately found a home in the Isle of Bardsey. Marching to the monastery, Ethelfrith murdered the remnant of the monks and burnt down the monastic buildings to the ground, its libraries being consumed in the general conflagration which followed,—an inestimable loss to Welsh literature.

This battle is known as the "Battle of Chester." Bede and his followers, see in this massacre the fulfilment of Augustine's prophecy of a divine visitation, for the refusal of the Welsh Bishops to join the Roman missionary in preaching the Gospel to the Saxons; while some modern historians are only prevented by the complications of chronology from representing Augustine as a demon in human form, planning this massacre to fulfil his prophecy. But Augustine was in no way a party to it; for he had been sleeping in earthly dust at Canterbury fully seven years before the event took place.

The ruins of the monastery of Bangor Monachorum, which "long told the tale" of the disaster, are mentioned by

1. Langhorni Chr. Reg. Angl. p. 151. Humphrey Llwyd's Brev. p. 72. Quoted in Ab Ithel's *Antiq. Cymry* 218.

William of Malmesbury and Leland, but have now altogether disappeared. The former, writing in the 12th century, says that there were still in his days "so many half destroyed walls of churches and such masses of ruins as could scarcely be seen elsewhere" The latter, writing in the 16th century, quaintly says,—and we give the extract in the then style of spelling which always seems to make a description of the kind more real,—that, "the Abbey stooode yn Ynglyshe Mailor on the hither and south side of the Dee. And it is ploughed ground now where the Abbey was by the space of a good Welsh myle, and they ploughed up bones of the monkes, and in remembrance were digged up pecis of thayr clothes in sepulturs. The Abbey stoo l in a faire valley and Dee ran by it. The cumpace of it was of a waulled tounne, and yet remaynith the name of a gate caulled Porth Hogan by north, and the name of a nother caullid Porth Clays (i.e. Porta Ecclesiastica) by south. Dee syns chaunging the botom reuneth now thoroug the mydle betwixt thes 2 gates, one being a myle dim, from the other, and yn this ground be ploughed up foundations of suared stonys, and Romanye money is founde there."¹

Pennant,² writing in 1778, speaks of four stone coffin lids and a cross which were dug up in the church yard, the ornamentations of which resemble those of similar monuments found in Iona, and in the Isle of Man. The cross is described as by far the most ancient. It has been suggested that the gryphon and the lion (both ancient British arms) looking towards the cross, may signify the early embracing of Christianity by the Britons.³

1. Itinerary v, 32.

2. *Tours in Wales*, vol. i. 224.

3. *Tours in Wales*, vol. i. 225.

The parish church of Bangor Monachorum is dedicated under the name of S. Dunawd, and held at one time a fine fresco on the south wall aisle, supposed to be a figure of its patron saint, while the east window of five lights contains as one of its subjects, the story of the Welsh Bishops meeting S. Augustine in conference. The figure of S. Augustine is said to have been copied from a picture of him at the Vatican. These are all the mementoes of the distinguished part which Bangor-is-y-coed played in the annals of early British Christianity.





Ynys Enlli, or Bardsey Island, from the main'and.

CHAPTER XII.

A SAINTS' REST.

"Grave-yards are solemn volumes, in which the blind may read upon their marble pages the records of hopes all departed. Dews of the night are diamonds at morn, so the tears we weep here may be pearls in Heaven."

GEORGE ELIOT.

YNYS ENLLI, or Ynys-yn-y-lli,—the Isle in the current —so called from the force of the current which rushes between it and that portion of the mainland called Lleyn, at the extreme point of Caernarvonshire, and renders access to it sometimes difficult and even dangerous,—is nearly two

miles in length from north to south. At the north end it is nearly three quarters of a mile wide, and at the south end it narrows to a point. The Saxons called it Bards-eye, or the Isle of Bards, or Saints, hence the name Bardsey.

For many centuries the island was to Welshmen what Westminster Abbey is to Englishmen—the consecrated place of entombment of all the best and bravest in the land. Bardsey has an interest of its own, so special in connection with the ecclesiastical history of Wales as to be easily made a subject of separate and distinct thought. It was known at one time as the "Rome of Britain," and the Welsh bards designated it as the Land of Indulgences, Absolution, and Pardon, the Road to Heaven, and the Gate to Paradise.¹ So great was the estimate of the sanctity of the place, that three pilgrimages to Enlli were regarded as equal to one pilgrimage to Rome. "I saw a charter of the island under the hand of the Pope of Rome, granting great indulgences to those who made pilgrimages thither in honour of the twenty thousand saints. The island was then called Rome of the Cymry, and the island of twenty thousand saints; because the place of its size was so virtuous, and comparatively as great a resort as Rome itself."²

There is no record of the names of those 20,000 saints so buried, beyond the place³

"Where heaves the turf in many a mouldering heap,
Each in his narrow cell for ever laid."

1. Lib. Landav 282.

2. Letter addressed to the Cymry by Griffith Roberts, D.D. (1640—1620.) Canon of Milan Cathedral.

3. The late Lord Newborough, the sole owner of the soil, 370 acres, erected a monument here to their memory in 1890. It is 30 feet high, and is visible ten miles off, and serves as a landmark to vessels sailing in the Irish Channel and Cardigan Bay, and bears the following inscription, "In memory of the 20,000 saints buried in this Island."

"Safe in this Island where each saint would be,
How wouldest thou smile on life's stormy sea."

Dyfrig, Bishop of Llandaff, retired to Bardsey in 519, where he died and was buried A.D. 522. His remains were removed to Llandaff Cathedral in 1120. Deiniol Wyn, first Bishop of Bangor, who assisted Cadvan in establishing the monastery at Bardsey. A.D. 516, was also buried here, and so was Beuno. A.D. 660. Llonio, a member of the College of S. Illtyd, and dean of the College of Padarn at Llanbadarn fawr, is also reckoned among the 20,000 saints who rest here^{*} in sure and certain hope of the Resurrection.

Speaking of a visit he paid the island in 1781, Pennant,¹ says: "From this port (Aberdaron) I once took boat for Bardseye island, which lies about three leagues to the west. The mariners seemed tinctured with the piety of the place: for they had not rowed far, but they made a full stop, pulled off their hats, and offered up a short prayer. After doubling a headland, the island appears full in view: we passed under the lofty mountain which forms one side. After doubling the farther end, we put into a little sandy creek, bounded by low rocks, as is the whole level part. On landing I found all this tract a very fertile plain, and well cultivated, and productive of everything which the main land affords. The abbot's house is a large stone building, inhabited by several of the natives:² not far from it is a singular chapel, or oratory, being a long arched edifice, with an insulated stone altar near the east end. In this place one of the inhabitants reads prayers, all other offices are performed at Aberdaron."

In days of old the altar lamp, glimmering through the church window at nightfall, served as a land mark to warn the mariner to shun the rock-bound shore of the island.

1. *Tours in Wales*, vol. ii. 196 (Ed. 1781).

2. The island contains about a dozen houses, and a population of about 60.

Hallowed by so many sacred and solemn associations—linking the present to the past—the Isle of Bardsey is a fitting requiem. The inquietude of the sea, and the dull boom of the foaming waves breaking on the cliffs, portray the restlessness of the saints' earthly pilgrimage, while the central calm of the blue lone sea is a true image of their deep peace and rest in the ocean of Divine love.

"No more the spade stirs here the buried bones,
Few now are they who come to kneel and mourn:
But tender sighs are from the tamarisk borne,
And the lark carols, though the sad sea groans."

Aberdaron, a poor village at the extreme end of Caernarvonshire, which takes its name from the small rivulet called the Daron which empties itself here, was a place of great resort at one time, as the port from which pilgrims embarked for Bardsey. The importance of the place is evident from the fact that the church, which is dedicated to S. Hywyn, and has two aisles supported by four handsome pillars, possessed the rare privilege of sanctuary.¹ Leland says that Aberdaron was at one time called *Llan-Engas Brenin, Fanum Niniani Reguli*.² Ninian was a Welsh Saint, the son of a Cambrian prince, and the legendary founder of the church here. This ancient privilege of sanctuary added to the awful reference of the altar in early times. In all sanctuary churches the stone chair, or chair of peace, was placed in or near the altar: and from this chair no one could eject the fugitive, under pain of the severest penalties, and was a sure seat of mercy. The fugitive, and even guilty, suppliants, were permitted to implore either the justice, or the mercy, of the Deity and his ministers. The rash violence of despotism was suspended by the mild interposition of the church: and

1. Powel, 176, quoted in Pennants' Tours in Wales, ii. 196.

2. Itin. v. 51.

the lives or fortunes of the most eminent subjects might be protected by the mediation¹ of the bishop.



A fugitive taking refuge from his enemy in the sanctuary chair.

Figures of the cross were early set up in churches, but crucifixes did not appear, according to M. Raoul Rochette, till the close of the 7th century. In the churchyard of Llantwit Major, two large crosses still remain, one of them having three different inscriptions ; the first purporting that it was the cross of Illtyd and Samson ; the second, that

¹ Gibbon's *His. Decline and Fall*, &c., i. 564.

Samson erected the cross for his soul; and the third, that one Samuel was the engraver. The other cross has one inscription only, to the effect that it was prepared by Samson for his soul, and for the souls of Juthael the king, and Arthmael.¹ There was a leaden cross on the alleged coffin



Ancient Cross, Monasterboice, Ireland.

1. Rees' *Welsh Saints*, 255-6. A facsimile of the last inscription, with an interesting account of the manner in which the cross was discovered, may be seen in Turner's "*Vindication of the Ancient British Poems*,"

of King Arthur, which was disinterred at Glastonbury in the reign of Henry II

Swearing by the holy cross was adopted by the Cymry. Taliesin, in the poem on the "Battle of Gwenystrad," thus speaks of the fallen warriors:—

"They jointly fell to the ground when they lost the day.
Their hands where on the cross, and horror was in the
pale face of the dead warriors."1

The Register of Llandav speaks of crosses as being used on the occasion of making grants of land to churches, and when pronouncing sentence of excommunication.² The Welsh laws lead us to suppose that there was a cross on the church door, before which it was a man's duty to say his Pater Noster.³ Giraldus Cambrensis says that a person, on taking the religious habit, begged a blessing in the form of a cross, with his arm stretched out, and his head hanging down.⁴

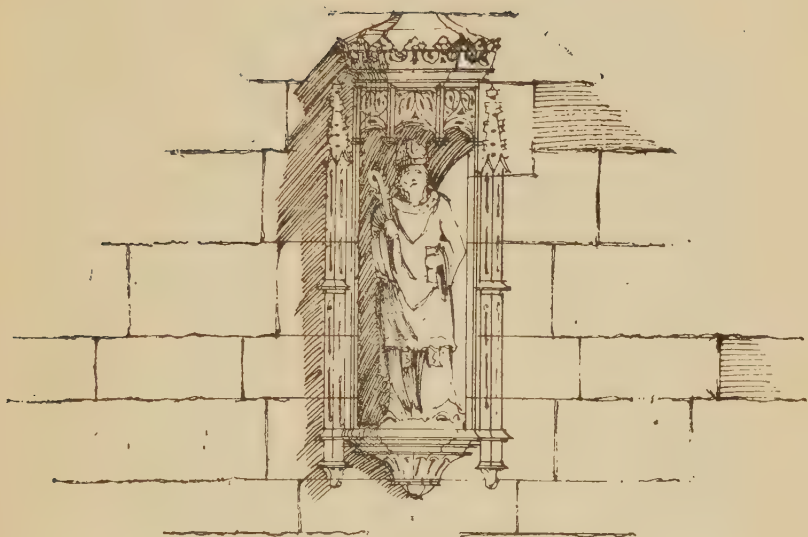
The primitive custom of crossing, which is defended by the XXXth Canon, is retained in the Baptismal Service of the Church of England in receiving the child into the congregation of Christ's flock, "in token that hereafter he shall not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified, and manfully to fight under his banner, against sin, the world, and the devil; and to continue Christ's faithful soldier and servant unto his life's end,"—a very innocent and significant ceremony, whereby we are admonished, throughout the whole course of our Christian warfare, to regard the cross of Christ as the badge of our profession; which we should never be ashamed or afraid to own, whenever the Great Head of the Church shall call on us to take it up and follow Him.

1. Myv. Arch. vol. i. 52.

2. Lib. Lland.

3. Leges Wallice, iv. Tr. 164.

4. Girald. Camb. Cambrice Descriptio.



S. DEINIOL.

From the statue above the south porch of Hawarden Parish Church.

CHAPTER XIII.

WELSH SAINTS.

"Let saints on earth in concert sing
With those whose work is done ;
For all the servants of our King
In heaven and earth are one.

"One family, we dwell in Him,
One Church, above, beneath ;
Though now divided by the stream,
The narrow stream of death."

ALL Welsh Saints of whom we have any record date with a few exceptions, prior to the eighth century. "There is no country in all Christendom, of its size, which had so many saints in it as were formerly among the Cymry.....Other countries must for the most part name most of their churches after the names of the Apostles or other saints not belonging to their country. But throughout the whole of Wales there are not many churches bearing names other than those of the country."¹ This testimony is true. Britain was at one time known as the "Isle of Saints."

The names of a large number of Welsh Saints occur in different catalogues, most of whom were founders of churches, and were honoured with parochial festivals. These festivals were observed "by prayer to God, charity, almsgiving, and a due commemoration of God and his Saints, and of their praiseworthy deeds."²

Much assistance may be derived in ascertaining and verifying the dates of commemorations of Welsh Saints from a list of village fairs, which are often held in Wales on Saint's Days, old style. Since the year 1800, the discrepancy between the old and new styles has increased by twelve days. To take a local instance as an illustration. "Ffair Wyl Bedr," or the Fair of the Festival of S. Peter, which is held at Bala on the 10th July, should be held, according to the old style on the 29th June, S. Peter's Day—twelve days difference, "Ffair Wyl Deiniol," or the Fair of the Festival of S. Deiniol, used to be held at Llanuwchllyn on Decr. 10, S.

1. Letter addressed to the Cymry, by Dr. Griffith Roberts, Canon of Milan Cathedral. A.D. 1567.

2. Brut y Tywysogion, Myv. Arch. Vol ii..

Deiniol's Day. This fair has now been merged in the one held on Sept. 21 —S. Mathew's Day—but still called "The Fair of the Feast of S. Deiniol"—though held on S. Mathew's Day.



THE following list of Welsh Saints, alphabetically arranged with the periods in which they lived, and the dates of their festivals, or wakes, so far as could be ascertained, is confined to those saints whose names are preserved as founders of churches in Wales; and shows how saturated the parochial topography of the country is with the names of the sons and daughters¹ of the "old Mother."

Name	Century	Churches	County	Wake
1 Aaron	fourth	Llanharan	Glamorgan	July 1
2 Aaelhaiarn	sixth	Llanaelhaiarn	Caernarvon	} Nov 1
3 Aelrhiw		Cegidva or Guilsfield	Montgomery	
4 Aerdeyrn	fifth	Rhiw, in Lley	Caernarvon	
		There was a Church dedi- cated to him in Glamorgan		Sept. 9
5 Ailvyw	sixth	Llanailvyw or S. Elveis	Pembroke	
6 Alban	fourth			July 22
7 Amphibalus	fourth			June 25
8 Andras	fifth	S. Andrews, or Dinas Pow- ys, near Cardiff	Glamorgan	
9 Asaph	sixth	Llanasa	Flintshire	May 1
10 Avan Bualt	sixth	Llanafanfawr and Llanafan- fechan, Bualt	Brecon	} Nov. 16
		Llanavan, Trawsgoed	Cardigan	
11 Baroc	seventh	Bedwas	Monmouth	Nov. 29
12 Beuno	seventh	Aberffraw and Trefdraeth	Anglesey	} April 21
		Clynnog Fawr, Carngiweh, Pistill and Penmorfa	Caernarvon	
		Llanycil and Gwyddelwern	Merioneth	
		Berriew and Bettws	Montgomery	
		Llanvenno	Hereford	
13 Bleiddian	fifth	Llanfleiddan Vawr, Llan- fleiddan Fach	Glamorgan	July 29
14 Bodvan	seventh	Aber, near Bangor	Caernarvon	June 2
15 Brothen		Llanfrothen	Merioneth	Oct. 15
16 Buan	seventh	Bodfuan	Caernarvon	Aug. 4

1. The female saints are marked in the above list by an asterisk.

Name	Century	Churches	County	Wake
17 Cadog	fifth	Llanspyddyd	Brecon	} Jan. 24
		Llangadog Vawr	Caermarthen	
18 Cadvan	sixth	Llangadvan	Montgomery	} Nov. 1
		Towyn	Merioneth	
19 Cadwaladr	seventh	Llangadwaladr	Anglesey	} Oct. 9
		Llangadwaladr	Denbigh	
		Llangadwaladr	Monmouth	
19 Caian	fifth	Tregaiian	Anglesey	Sept. 25
20 Callwen	fifth	Callwen in Devynoc	Brecon	Nov. 1
21 Cammarch	sixth	Llangammarch	Brecon	
22 Canna		Llangan	Glamorgan	
23 Cannen	sixth	Llanganten	Brecon	
24 Carvan		Llangarvan	Glamorgan	
25 Cawrdav	sixth	Abererch	Caernarvon	Dec. 5
		Llangoed	Anglesey	
26 Cedol		Llangedol or Pentir, near Bangor	Caernarvon	Nov. 1
27 Ceinwen	fifth	Llangeinwen and Cerrig Ceinwen	Anglesey	Oct. 8
28 Ceitho	sixth	Llangeitho	Cardigan	Aug 5
29 Celer		Llangelor	Caermarthen	
30 Celynin	seventh	Llangelynin	Caernarvon	} Nov. 2
		Llangelynin	Merioneth	
31 Ceneu	fourth	Llangeneu	Brecon	
32 Cennyech		Llangennyech	Caermarthen	
33 Cennyld	sixth	Llangennydd	Glamorgan	
34 Cewydd	sixth	Aberedwy and Diserth	Radnor	
		Llangewydd	Glamorgan	
35 Ciwa	sixth	Llangiwa or Llangua	Monmouth	
36 Ciwg	sixth	Llangiwg or Llanguke	Glamorgan	
37 Cloffan		Llangloffan	Pembroke	
38 Clydai	fifth	Clydai	Pembroke	
39 Clydog	fifth	Clydock	Hereford	
40 Colman	fifth	Llangolman and Capel Colman	Pembroke	
41 Collen	seventh	Llangollen	Denbigh	
42 Coven	seventh	Llangoven	Monmouth	
		S. Goven's Chapel	Pembroke	
43 Crallo	sixth	Llangrallo or Coychurch	Glamorgan	
44 Cristiolus	seventh	Llangristiolus	Anglesey	} Nov. 3
		Eglwys Wrw and Penrydd	Pembroke	
45 Curig	seventh	Llangurig	Montgomery	} June 16
		Capel Curig	Caernarvon	
		Porth Curig Church	Glamorgan	
		Eglwys Fair and Curig	Caermarthen	
46 Cwyllawg	sixth	Llangwyllawg	Anglesey	
47 Cwyfan	seventh	Llangwyfan	Anglesey	} June 3
		Llangwyfan	Denbigh	
		Tudweiliog	Caernarvon	

Name	Century	Churches	County	Wake
48 Cybi	sixth	Llangybi Llangybi Llangybi	Caernarvon Monmouth Cardigan	} Nov. 6
49 Cynbryd	fifth	Llanddulas, Abergele	Denbigh	
50 Cyndeyrn	sixth	Llangyndeyrn	Caernarthen	March 19
51 Cyndeyrn (Kendigern bishop of Llanelwy)	sixth	Several Churches in Cumber- land dedicated to his name. S. Asaph Cathedral	Flint	July 25
52 Cynhaiarn	sixth	Ynys Cynhaiarn Church	Caernarvon	
53 Cynheiddon	fifth	Llangynheiddon, a chapel formerly in the parish of Llandyfaelog	Caernarthen	
54 Cynidr	fifth	Llangynidr and Aberysicr	Brecon	
55 Cynin	fifth	Llangynin	Caernarthen	
56 Cynullo	fifth	Llangynullo, Nantmel, and Llaubister	Radnor	
57 Cynog	fifth	Llangynullo & Llangoedmor	Cardigan	
		Defynog, Ystrad Gynlais, Penderin, Battel, and Llangynog	Brecon	
58 Cynog (second bishop of Llan- badarn)		Llangynog	Montgomery	
		Llangynog	Caernarthen	
59 Cynfab	seventh	Capel Cynfab, existing at one time in the parish of Llanfair-ar-y-bryn	Caernarthen	Nov. 15
60 Cynfran	fifth	Llysfaen	Caernarvon	
61 Cynvyw	sixth	Llangyvyw Llangynyw	Monmouth Montgomery	
62 Cynwyd	sixth	Llangynwyd	Glamorgan	
63 Cynwyl	sixth	Cynwyl Gaio, Cynwyl Elved Aberporth	Caernarthen Cardigan	} April 30
64 Cyngar	sixth	Penrhos, near Pwllheli	Caernarvon	
		Badgworth & Cungresbury Hope or Estyn	Somerset Flintshire	
65 Derfel Dewi	sixth	Llangefni	Anglesey	
	sixth	Llandderfel The number of Churches dedicated to S. David in South Wales alone are 53 (see List in Rees' Welsh Saints) besides those in North Wales & England	Merioneth	March 1
66 Deiniol Wyn	sixth	Llanddeiniol Llanddeiniol or Itton	Cardigan Monmouth	Dec. 10

Name	Century	Churches	County	Wake
66 Deiniol Wyn	sixth	Hawarden & Worthenbury Llanuwchllyn S. Daniels'	Flintshire Merioneth Pembroke	Dec. 10
67 Deiniol or Deiniol Fab	seventh	Llanddeiniolen Llanddeiniol Fab	Caernarvon Anglesey	} Nov. 23
68 Dier	sixth	Bodffari	Flintshire	
69 Digain	fifth	Llangernyw	Denbigh	Nov. 21
70 Dingad	fifth	Llandingad Llandingad or Dingatstow	Caermarthen Monmouth	
71 Doch-dwy	sixth	Llandough or Llandocho	Glamorgan	
72 Dogvael	sixth	S. Dogmaels' in Cemmaes, S. Dogmaels' in Pebidiog, Monachlog Ddu, and Me- lianau Llandogvael, a chapel at one time in Llanfechell	Pembroke Anglesey	June 14
73 Dogfan	fifth	Llanrhaiadr yn Mochnant	Denbigh	July 13
74 Dona	seventh	Llanddona	Anglesey	Nov. 1
75 Dunawd	sixth	Bangor-is-y-coed	Flintshire	Sept. 7
76*Dwynwen	fifth	Llanddwynwen or Llan- ddwyn	Anglesey	Jan. 25
77*Dwywe	sixth	Llanddwywe	Merioneth	
78 Dyfan	second	Merthyr Dyvan	Glamorgan	April 8
79 Dyfnan	fifth	Llanddyfnan	Anglesey	April 23
80 Dyfnig	sixth	Llanwrin	Montgomery	
81 Dyfnog	seventh	Devynog	Brecon	Feb. 13
82 Dyfrig	fifth	Whitchurch, Ballingham, Hentland and S. Deve- reux	Hereford	
83*Edwen	seventh	Llanedwen	Anglesey	Nov. 6
84 Egryn	seventh	Llanegryn	Merioneth	
85 Egwad	seventh	Llanegwad and Llanfynydd	Caermarthen	
86 Eigrad	sixth	Llaneigrad	Anglesey	
87 Eigron	sixth	Founded a Church in Corn- wall		
88 Elaeth	sixth	Amlwch	Anglesey	Nov. 10
89 Elian	sixth	Llanelian Llanelian	Anglesey Denbigh	
90 Ellyw or Elyw	fifth	Llanelien and Llanelley	Brecon	
91 Enddwyn	seventh	Llanenddwyn	Merioneth	
92 Enghenel	seventh	Llanenghenel	Anglesey	
93 Eurgain	sixth	Llaneurgain or Northop	Flintshire	
94 Eurfyl		Llaneurfyl	Montgomery	July 6
95 Fagan	second	S. Fagan's	Glamorgan	
96 Fili	sixth	Rhos Fili or Rhosili		
97 Finan	sixth	Llanffinan	Anglesey	

Name	Century	Churches	County	Wake
98 Fflewyn	sixth	Llanfflewyn	Anglesey	
99 Ffraid or Bridget	fifth	Llansantffraid Glan Conway and Llansantffraid Glyn- ceiriog	Denbigh	
		Llansantffraid in Mechain	Montgomery	Feb. 1
		Llansantffraid Glyndyfrdwy	Merioneth	
		Diserth	Flint	
		S. Bride's	Pembroke	
		Llansantffraid	Cardigan	
		Llansantffraid Cwmwd	Radnor	
		Deudwr, and Llansant- ffraid in Elvael		
		Llansantffraid	Brecon	
		S. Bride's Major, S. Bride's Minor, and S. Bride's Su- per Elai	Glamorgan	
		S. Brides Northwent, and S. Brides Wentloog	Monmouth	
		Capel S. Ffraid in ruins, near Holyhead	Anglesey	
100 Gallgo	sixth	Llanallgo	Anglesey	Nov. 27
101 Garmon	fifth	Llanarmon yn Ial, Llanar- mon Dyffryn Ceiriog, Llanarmon Mynydd Mawr and Capel Garmon	Denbigh	
		Llanarmon and Bettws Gar- mon	Caernarvon	
		Llanarmon or S. Harmon's	Radnor	
102 Govor		Llanover	Monmouth	May 9
103 Grwst	seventh	Llanrwst	Denbigh	Dec. 1
104 Gwen	fifth	Talgarth	Brecon	
105 Gwenllwyfo		Llanwenllwyfo	Anglesey	
106 Gwenog		Llanwenog	Cardigan	Jan. 3
107 Gwenavan	sixth	Rhoscolyn (formerly called Llanwenfaen)	Anglesey	Nov. 5
108 Gwenfrewi	seventh	Patron Saint of Holywell	Flint	Nov. 3
109 Gwrtheli		Capel Gartheli	Cardigan	
110 Gwrthwe		Llanwrthwl	Brecon	March 2
111 Gwyddelan		Llanwyddelan	Montgomery	
		Dolwyddelen	Caernarvon	Aug. 22
112* Gwynen		Llanwnen	Cardigan	
113 Gwynio		Llanwynio	Caermarthen	May 2
114 Gwynnog	sixth	Llanwnnog	Montgomery	Oct. 26
115 Gwynodl	sixth	Llangwnodl or Llangwnadl	Caernarvon	Jan. 1
116 Gwynws	fifth	Llanwnws	Cardigan	Dec. 13
117 Gwytherin	sixth	Gwytherin	Denbigh	

Name	Century	Churches	County	Wake
118 Hawystyl	fifth	Llanhawystyl or Awst	Gloucester	
119 Hychan	fifth	Llanychan	Denbigh	
120 Idloes	seventh	Llanidloes	Montgomery	Sept. 6
121 Iestyn	sixth	Llaniestyn	Caernarvon	
		Llaniestyn	Anglesey	
122 Ilar	sixth	Llanilar	Cardigan	
		Llanilar or S. Hilary's	Glamorgan	
123*Ilid	seventh	Llanilid	Brecon	June 16
124 Illog	seventh	Hirnant	Montgomery	Aug. 8
125 Illyd	sixth	Lantwit, Ilston, Newcastle	Glamorgan	
		Llanhary, Llantryddid,		
		Llantwit near Neath, and		
		Llanilltyd Vaerdre		
		Llanhieth	Monmouth	
		Lantwood or Llantwyn	Pembroke	
		Capel Illyd in Devynog	Brecon	Feb. 7
		Llanelltyd near Dolgelley	Merioneth	
		Pentre	Caermarthen	
126 Isan	sixth	Llanisan	Glamorgan	
		Llanishen	Monmouth	
127 Ismael	sixth	S. Ishmael's near Cidweli	Caermarthen	
		Camos, Usmaston, Rose	Pembroke	
		Market, S. Ishmaels' and		
		East Haroldston		
128 Llechau	fifth	Llanllechau in Ewyas	Hereford	
129*Llechid	sixth	Llanllechid	Caernarvon	Dec. 2
130 Lleian	fifth	Capel Llanlleian	Caermarthen	
131 Lleirwg	second	Llanlleirwg, now S. Melons	Monmouth	
132 Lleuddad	seventh	Llanllawddog, Cenarth, Pen-	Caermarthen	
		boir		
		Cilgerran	Pembroke	Jan. 18
133 Llibio		Llanllibio	Anglesey	Feb. 28
134 Llonio	sixth	Llandinam	Montgomery	
		Llanllwni	Caermarthen	
135 Llwehaiarn	sixth	Llanllwehaiarn, Llanmer-	Montgomery	
		ewig		
		Llanychaiarn, and Llan-	Cardigan	Jan. 11
		llwehaiarn		
136 Llwydian		Heneglwys	Anglesey	Nov. 19
137 Llyr	fifth	Llanllyr	Radnor	
		Llanllyr	Cardigan	
138 Mabon	sixth	Llanfabon	Glamorgan	
		Ruabon or Rhiw Vabon	Denbigh	
139 Maches		Llanfaches	Monmouth	
140 Machraith	seventh	Llanfachraith	Anglesey	} Jan. 1
		Llanfachraith	Merioneth	

Name	Century	Churches	County	Wake
141 Madog	sixth	Llanfadog	Glamorgan	
142* Madryn	fifth	Trawsfynydd	Merioneth	
143 Mael	sixth	Corwen	Merioneth	May 1
		Cwm	Flint	
144 Maelog	sixth	Llanfaelog	Anglesey	
		Llandyfaelog	Caermarthen	
		Llandyfaelog Fach, and	Brecon	Dec. 31
		Llandyvaelog Trev y Graig		
145 Maelrys	sixth	Llanfaelrys, Aberdaron	Caernarvon	Jan. 1
146 Mechell	seventh	Llanfechell	Anglesey	
147 Medwy	second	Llanedwy	Glamorgan	
148 Meigant	sixth	Llanvengan	Brecon	
		S. Monghan's	Monmouth	
149* Melangell or S.		Buried at Pennant Melan-	Montgomery	May 27
Monacella	sixth	gell		
150 Mor	fifth	Llanvor or Llannor	Caernarvon	
		Llanfyr, Bala	Merioneth	
151 Mordeyrn		Nantglyn	Denbigh	July 25
152 Mwrog		Llanfwrog	Anglesey	Jan. 6 or 15
		Llanfwrog	Denbigh	
153 Myllin		Llanfyllin	Montgomery	June 17
154 Nefyn	fifth	Nefyn	Caernarvon	
155 Niden	seventh	Llanidan	Anglesey	Sept. 30
156 Non	fifth	Llanuwchaeron and Llanon	Cardigan	} Mar. 3
		Llannon	Caermarthen	
		S. Euns in the Parish of S. David's	Pembroke	
157 Pabo	fifth	Llanbabo	Anglesey	Nov. 9
158 Padarn	sixth	Llanbadarn Vawr, Llanbad-	Cardigan	April 15
		arn Vach, Llanbadarn Odin		June 20
		Llanbadarn Vawr, Llanbad-	Radnor	Nov. 1
		arn Vynydd and Llanbad-		
		arn y Garreg		
		S. Padarn, Llanberis	Caernarvon	
159 Padrig	fifth	Llanbadrig	Anglesey	March 17
160 Pawl (Hen)	fifth	Llangors	Brecon	
		Capel Penlin	Caermarthen	July 3
161 Peblig	fifth	Llanbeblig	Caernarvon	
162 Pedr	sixth	Of the many Churches which bear the name of Llanbedr in Wales, it cannot now be ascertained whether any were founded by him, or whether they are all dedicated to the Apostle S. Peter.		

Name	Century	Churches	County	Wake
163 Pedrog	sixth	Llanbedrog Llanbedrog or S. Petrox S. Petrox's, Exeter Petrockstow	Caernarvon Pembroke Devon Devon	
164 Peirio	sixth	Rhosbeirio	Anglesey	
165 Peris	seventh	Llanberis	Caernarvon	Dec. 11
166 Peulan	sixth	Llanbeulan	Anglesey	
167 Rhian		Llanrhaian	Pembroke	March 8
168 Rhidian		Llanrhidian	Glamorgan	
169*Rheingar	fifth	Llangyndir and Aberysicr	Brecon	
170*Rhuddlad	seventh	Llanrhuddlad	Anglesey	Sept. 4
171 Rhwydrys	seventh	Llanrhwydrys	Anglesey	Nov. 1
172 Rhychwyn	sixth	Llanrhychwyn	Caernarvon	
173 Rhystud	sixth	Llanrhystud	Cardigan	Tuesday pre- ceeding Christmas
174 Sadwrn	sixth	Henllan Llansadwrn Llansadwrn	Denbigh Anglesey Caernarthen	} Nov. 29
175 Sadyrnin	sixth	Llansadyrnin	Caernarthen	
176 Saernan	sixth	Llanynys	Denbigh	
177 Samson	sixth	S. Samson in Guernsey		
178 Sannan	sixth	Llansannan Bedwellty	Denbigh Monmouth	March 1
179 Sawyl	eighth	Llansawel	Caernarthen	
180 Seiriol	sixth	S. Seiriol's Isle off Anglesey		
181 Sulien	sixth	Wrexham Llansilin	Denbigh Denbigh	Sept. 1
182 Tanwg	sixth	Llandanwg	Merioneth	Oct. 10
183 Tathan	sixth	Llandathan or S. Athan's	Glamorgan	
184 Tecwyn	sixth	Llandecwyn	Merioneth	Sept. 14
185 Tegai	sixth	Llandegai	Caernarvon	
186 Tegvan	sixth	Llandegfan	Anglesey	
187 Tegwedd	fifth	Llandywedd	Monmouth	
188 Tegwy	sixth	Llandegwy or Llandygwydd	Cardigan	
189 Teilo	sixth	Llandeilo Vawr, Brechfa, Llandeilo, Abercowyn, Trelech a'r Bettws, Llan- ddwrwr and Cilrhedin Llandeilo and Llandeloi Llandeilo graban Llandeilo'r Van Llandeilo-Talybont, Bishop- ston or Lladdeilo, Ver- wallt, Merthyr Dyvan and Merthyr mawr, Llandaff Cathedral	Caernarthen Pembroke Radnor Brecon Glamorgan	} Feb. 6

Name	Centur	Churches	Country	Wake
		Llandeilo Cresseney, Llan- arth and Llandeilo Berth- oleu	Monmouth	
190 Teulydog	sixth	Llandeulog	Pembroke	
191 Trילו	sixth	Llandrillo yn Rhos	Denbigh	June 15
		Llandrillo yn Edeyrnion	Merioneth	
192 Trinio	sixth	Llandrinio	Montgomery	
193 Tudno	sixth	Llandudno	Caernarvon	June 5
194 Tudwal	fifth	S. Tudwal's Isle	Caernarvon	
195 Tudwen	seventh	Llandudwen	Caernarvon	
196 Tudyr	sixth	Darowen	Montgomery	Oct. 15
		Mynyddyslwyn	Monmouth	
197 Turnog	sixth	Llandyrnog	Denbigh	June 26
198 Twrog	sixth	Llandwrog	Caernarvon	June 26
		Maentwrog	Merioneth	
199 Tybie	fifth	Llandybie	Caernarthen	Jan. 30
200 Tydecho	sixth	Llanymawddwy and Mall- wyd, Garthbeibio	Merioneth	Dec. 17
		Cemmaes	Montgomery	
201 Tydio	sixth	Derwen	Denbigh	
202 Tysilio	seventh	Meifod and Llandysilio	Montgomery	Nov. 8
		Llandysilio and Bryneglwys	Denbigh	
		Llandysilio	Anglesey	
		Llandysilio yn Nyfed	Caernarthen	
		Llandysilio Gogov	Cardigan	
		Sellack and Llansilio	Hereford	
203 Tyssul	sixth	Llandysul	Cardigan	Jan. 31
		Llandysul	Montgomery	
204 Tyvei	sixth	Llandyvei	Pembroke	
		Llandyveisant	Caernarthen	
205 Tyvodwg	fifth	Llandyvodwg, Ystrad Dy- fodwg	Glamorgan	
206 Tyvriog	sixth	Llandyvriog	Cardigan	
207 Tyvrydog	sixth	Llandyfrydog	Anglesey	Jan. 1
208 Ulched		Llechylched	Anglesey	Jan. 6
209 Ust	sixth	Llanwrin	Montgomery	
210 Uelwyn	seventh	Llanuvelyn S. George's	Glamorgan	
211 Ysgain	fifth	Llanhesgin	Monmouth	

PERIOD III.

A.D. 681—809. FROM THE DEATH OF CADWALADR, THE LAST TITULAR KING OF WALES, TO THE END OF THE SCHISM BETWEEN THE CHURCH OF THE CYMRY AND THE ANGLO-SAXON CHURCH.

PERIOD IV.

A.D. 809—1284. FROM THE END OF THE SCHISM TO THE FINAL CONQUEST OF WALES, AND THE ABSORPTION OF THE CHURCH OF THE CYMRY IN THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

CHAPTER XIV.

A.D. 681—809.

FROM THE DEATH OF CADWALADR TO THE END OF THE SCHISM BETWEEN THE WELSH AND ENGLISH CHURCHES.

THE history of Wales during the period of Cadwaladr, its last titular King, who died A.D. 681, is a confused map of struggles between the Welsh princes for supremacy, during which the Church suffered much.

The schism between the Welsh and Anglo-Saxon churches continued after the conference of the Welsh bishops with Augustine A.D. 604, and lasted till A.D. 809. The policy of extermination which first marked the Saxon invasion, gave way to the wiser one of attempting to incorporate the Welsh in the English nation. Some of the Celtic bishops in the North of Britain and in Ireland were inclined to union, and expressed their willingness to yield on the question of Easter. A similar feeling existed in the parts of Wales contiguous to England. In Cornwall the bishops retained the old British usage, and they were met by Brithwald, Archbishop of Canterbury, in a truly Christian spirit, not with the insolence of Augustine¹. He deputed his kinsman Aldhelm—A.D. 693—to write a treatise against the Paschal cycle and form of tonsure adhered to by the Welsh. In his treatise, which is addressed to Gerunt, king of Cornwall, Aldhelm admits the orthodoxy of the Church of the Cymry, and that her clergy preached the mystery of the Incarnation, our Lords Death, Resurrection, and Ascension. The schism had convinced Aldhelm that the Cymry were

¹ Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops*, i. 179.

not to be won over by threats ; and he plainly asserts the principle that schisms are not healed by brute force. The universal facts of history show that as a system of reclamation persecution has signally failed ; for where the penal code was most sanguinary, and persecutions most numerous, dissensions have been most abundant. This Latin treatise of Aldhelm—the first Anglo-Saxon who wrote in that language—is included in the Epistles of Boniface, and discloses a bitterness of feeling on the part of the Welsh, and of which Aldhelm complains in the following terms, “ Besides these enormities (the British tonsure and Paschal cycle) there is another thing wherein they do notoriously swerve from the Catholic Faith and Evangelical Tradition, which is, that the Priests of the Demetae or South West Wales, inhabiting beyond the bay of the Severn, puffed up with a conceit of their own purity, does exceedingly abhor communion with us, inasmuch as they will neither join in prayers with us in the church, nor enter into society with us at the Table.” The social line of demarcation was not less finely drawn. “ Yea, more,” he continued, “ moreover the fragments which we leave after refection they will not touch, but cast them to be devoured by dogs and unclean swine. The cups also in which we have drunk, they will not make use of, till they have rubbed and cleansed them with sand or ashes. They refuse all civil salutations, or to give us the kiss of pious fraternity, contrary to the Apostolic precept, ‘ Salate one another with a holy kiss.’ They will not afford us water and a towel for our hands, nor a vessel to wash our feet, whereas our Saviour having girt himself with a towel, washed his disciples feet, and left us a pattern to imitate, saying, ‘ As I have done to you, so do ye to others.’ Moreover, if any of us who are Catholicks do go amongst them to make our abode, they will not vouchsafe to admit us to their fellowship, till we be compelled to spend forty days in Pen-

CHAPTER XIV.

A.D. 681—809.

FROM THE DEATH OF CADWALADR TO THE END OF THE SCHISM BETWEEN THE WELSH AND ENGLISH CHURCHES.

THE history of Wales during the period of Cadwaladr, its last titular King, who died A.D. 681, is a confused map of struggles between the Welsh princes for supremacy, during which the Church suffered much.

The schism between the Welsh and Anglo-Saxon churches continued after the conference of the Welsh bishops with Augustine A.D. 604, and lasted till A.D. 809. The policy of extermination which first marked the Saxon invasion, gave way to the wiser one of attempting to incorporate the Welsh in the English nation. Some of the Celtic bishops in the North of Britain and in Ireland were inclined to union, and expressed their willingness to yield on the question of Easter. A similar feeling existed in the parts of Wales contiguous to England. In Cornwall the bishops retained the old British usage, and they were met by Brithwald, Archbishop of Canterbury, in a truly Christian spirit, not with the insolence of Augustine¹. He deputed his kinsman Aldhelm—A.D. 693—to write a treatise against the Paschal cycle and form of tonsure adhered to by the Welsh. In his treatise, which is addressed to Gerunt, king of Cornwall, Aldhelm admits the orthodoxy of the Church of the Cymry, and that her clergy preached the mystery of the Incarnation, our Lords Death, Resurrection, and Ascension. The schism had convinced Aldhelm that the Cymry were

¹ Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops*, i. 179.

not to be won over by threats ; and he plainly asserts the principle that schisms are not healed by brute force. The universal facts of history show that as a system of reclamation persecution has signally failed ; for where the penal code was most sanguinary, and persecutions most numerous, dissensions have been most abundant. This Latin treatise of Aldhelm—the first Anglo-Saxon who wrote in that language—is included in the Epistles of Boniface, and discloses a bitterness of feeling on the part of the Welsh, and of which Aldhelm complains in the following terms, “ Besides these enormities (the British tonsure and Paschal cycle) there is another thing wherein they do notoriously swerve from the Catholic Faith and Evangelical Tradition, which is, that the Priests of the Demetae or South West Wales, inhabiting beyond the bay of the Severn, puffed up with a conceit of their own purity, does exceedingly abhor communion with us, inasmuch as they will neither join in prayers with us in the church, nor enter into society with us at the Table.” The social line of demarcation was not less finely drawn. “ Yea, more,” he continued, “ moreover the fragments which we leave after refection they will not touch, but cast them to be devoured by dogs and unclean swine. The cups also in which we have drunk, they will not make use of, till they have rubbed and cleansed them with sand or ashes. They refuse all civil salutations, or to give us the kiss of pious fraternity, contrary to the Apostolic precept, ‘ Salate one another with a holy kiss.’ They will not afford us water and a towel for our hands, nor a vessel to wash our feet, whereas our Saviour having girt himself with a towel, washed his disciples feet, and left us a pattern to imitate, saying, ‘ As I have done to you, so do ye to others.’ Moreover, if any of us who are Catholicks do go amongst them to make our abode, they will not vouchsafe to admit us to their fellowship, till we be compelled to spend forty days in Pen-

ance." The Anglo-Saxon Church sincerely desired at this time to hold out the right hand of fellowship to the Church of the Cymry. But the wounds inflicted by previous struggles, were not yet sufficiently healed to effect the desired reconciliation; which however, the dissolving influences of time slowly but surely effected, in the union of hearts between the two peoples. According to Bede¹, only in those parts which were subject to the kingdom of Wessex could the Welsh be brought to submit. In those parts where the Welsh retained their independence they adhered to the traditions of their own Church.² Aldhelm was not backward in advancing the claims of Papal supremacy; and the fact that the claim was made proves that the Church of the Cymry still kept to her old traditions, and repudiation of the Roman claims, as she did long before this in the conference of her bishops with Augustine A.D. 604. The warning issued A.D. 739, by Pope Gregory iii. to the Bavarian and Allemannic bishops against British missionaries, may have reference to the continued determination with which the Church of the Cymry resisted Papal aggressions. On the question of the observance of Easter, however, the Welsh Church partially gave way A.D. 755 in favour of the Roman custom. *Brut y Tywysogion*, thus refers to the event. "Oed Crist, 755, y symudwyd y Pasc yng Nghwynedd o gyngor Elfod, Escob Bangor, ond nis caed hynny gan Escobion eraill, ac achaws hyny y daethant y Saeson ar y Cymry yn Neheubarth."—"A.D. 755, Easter was changed in Gwynedd (i.e. North Wales) by the advice of Elfod, Bishop of Bangor; but the other Bishops did not concur therein; on which account the Saxons invaded the Cymry in South Wales." "Oed Crist 777, y symudwyd y Pasc yn Neheubarth." (p. 8. ib.)—"A.D. 777, Easter was altered in South Wales."

¹ Hist. Eccl. v. 8.

² Bede's Hist, Eccl, ii. 20, eb. v. 23.

The change was not accepted generally by the Welsh Church. According to *Brut y Tywysogion*, there was a great disturbance on the subject on the death of Elfod A.D. 809. "Oed Crist 809, y bu farw Elfod Archesgob Gwynedd.....ac y bu terfysg mawr yn mhlith y gwyr Eglwysig achaws y Pasc ; canys ni fynnai Escobion Llandaf a Mynyw, ymroddi dan Archesgob Gwynedd lle yr oeddynt eu hunain yn Archesgobion hŷn o fraint," (ib.)—A.D. 809, Elfod, Archbishop of Gwynedd died.....and a great tumult [occured] on account of Easter : for the Bishops of Llandaff and Menevia would not succumb to the Archbishop of Gwynedd, being themselves Archbishops of older privilege." (ib.)

The designation of Elbod as Archbishop is a misnomer. Bangor never was an Archiepiscopal see. The name of the Bishop of St. Asaph is not mentionad in this disurbance, from which it may be inferred that he fell in with Elbod's acceptance of the Roman cycle. The South Wales dioceses must have confirmed if they were in close communion with the Saxon church ; as appears to have been the case, more or less, from about the end of the 9th century.¹

¹ Councils, &c, i, 204. [Note]

CHAPTER XV.

FUSION OF THE WELSH AND ENGLISH CHURCHES.

AFTER the close of the Paschal schism A.D. 809, there was a gradual absorption of the Welsh in the Anglo-Saxon Church. Hence we find it stated that after A.D. 870 the South Wales bishops were consecrated, in many cases, by the Archbishops of Canterbury; and in A.D. 870 there was a Saxon bishop at St. Davids.¹ The closing of the schism was not however a final settlement of the jurisdiction of Canterbury in Wales; for the racial and political elements entered so largely into that question, that Wales was not fully incorporated in the province of Canterbury till its final conquest and annexation to England A.D. 1284. Though the closing of the Paschal schism facilitated intercommunion between the two churches, it did not secure the acceptance by the Welsh Church of the primacy of the Archbishop of Canterbury. United in the bonds of fellowship and doctrine, the two branches of the Catholic Church became the one Church of England and Wales.² The standards of doctrine of both were similar before—and Aldhelm testifies to the orthodoxy of the Church of the Cymry on the cardin-

1. Councils, &c. i. 205.

2. We find a parallel in modern history, in the union of the forces of English and Welsh Nonconformity. The Congregationalists of Wales have allied themselves to their brethren in England, under the title of the "Congregational Union of England and Wales." The Welsh Baptists and Wesleyans are allied in the same way. Welsh Calvinistic Methodists, to bring themselves more into touch with English and Scotch Presbyterians, have lately adopted the title of "Welsh Presbyterians."

al points of Christianity.¹ No other foundation had then been laid beyond what had already been laid. The gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble—medieval accretions—had not then obscured the foundation originally laid, in purity, simplicity, and poverty. The Church of England then, as now, was “built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the head corner stone.”²

During the period of the gradual fusion of the Welsh and Anglican Churches the question of the validity of Orders was not raised. There was a mutual acceptance on the part of both churches of the validity of their respective Orders; so that the Apostolically descended commission of ministry of the Anglican Communion of to-day is traceable through British and Anglican sources. Although Anglican Orders are treated as invalid by the Church of Rome by the reordination of seceders from the Anglican Ministry, no declaration *ex cathedra*³ has ever been made on the subject by the Church of Rome. The omission from our Ordinal of certain ceremonies, such as unction and the porrection of the chalice, is held by Roman divines as invalidating An-

1. Newman thus speaks of the Church of England. “I should wish to avoid everything (except under the direct call of duty, and this is a material exception,) which went to weaken its hold upon the public mind, or to unsettle its establishment, or to embarrass and lessen its maintenance of those great Christian and Catholic principles and doctrines which it has up to this time successfully preached.” *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*, p. 342.

2. Collect for S.S. Simon and Jude's Day.

3. The omission of any reference to Anglican Orders from the Letter recently addressed by Pope Leo XIII. to the English people on the question of the Re-union of Christendom is remarkable. Newman speaks thus of the Orders of the Church of England. “And, as to its possession of an Episcopal succession from the time of the Apostles, it may have it and if the Holy See ever so decide, I will believe it, as being the decision of a higher judgment than my own.” *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* p. 341.

glican Orders. But Scripture gives no authority for these ceremonies. The words in the Roman Pontifical, 'Receive thou power to offer sacrifices to God, and celebrate Mass for the quick and dead,' were not in any ancient form of consecration. Morinus, as cited by Bishop Burnet, acknowledges, that he could not find any such words for the first nine hundred years.¹ This comes within the period of the union of the Welsh and Anglo-Saxon churches, and these ceremonies were unknown then, and their omission renders the Ordinal of the Anglican Communion more in accord with the custom of the primitive Church than the Roman Pontifical can claim to be.

Asser Menevensis is a prominent land mark in the history of the Church of the Cymry, indicating the interchange of mutual good feeling between English and Welsh people. Born about the middle of the ninth century, Asser completed his education in the monastery of Menevia,² from which he took the surname of Menevensis. His name became so famous that Alfred the Great, about A.D. 880, despatched messengers to S. David's with a special invitation to attend the Saxon court. After a long and laborious journey, he arrived with his escort at Dene, in Wilrshire, where the King received him. Asser speaks of his journey there from S. David's as "*per multa terrarum spatia.*" The acquaintance between King and priest developed into warm friendship. Alfred pressed Asser to remain permanently at his Court. This he declined to do, the latter pleading his attachment to his native land and the place of his education, and that of his

1. Burnet's Vindication of English Orders p. 24. Bingham ii. xix. 17.

2. Menevia, the name by which S. David's was first known is the Latin form of the Welsh name Mynyw. The modern Welsh name of S. David's is Ty Ddewi, or the House of David, so called probably from the monastery.

ordination to the priesthood, as reasons against severing his connection with Wales, for foreign perferment. The King then desired that he should reside six months at Court, and six months at S. David's. This request Asser acceded to after consulting his brethren at S. David's. The time spent together by the King and Asser was devoted to literature and science. King Alfred acknowledged the good services of this Welsh clergyman by conferring on him on Christmas Eve, A.D. 882, the monasteries of Ambresbury in Wiltshire, and Banwell in Somersetshire. This perferment the King supplemented with a gift of a silk pall of great value, and as much incense as a strong man could carry, with which the King sent Asser a note, intimating "that these were but small things, and by way of earnest of greater that should follow them." Soon after this Asser was elevated in rapid succession to the Sees of Exeter and Sherborne; from this time he appears to have spent more time at Court than before. His episcopal duties—and he retained the title Bishop of Sherborne to the time of his death, though he resigned the charge in 883,—and the strong ties of friendship which bound him to the King, estranged him more or less from his native Wales. Asser is said to have given Alfred much help in framing the code of laws upon which his fame is based, by communicating to him the ancient laws of Wales, more particularly those of Dyvnwal Moelmud—a famous British legislator who lived about B.C. 400, called by English writers Moelmutius. Asser wrote a life of Alfred the Great, in which he gives an interesting account of the manner in which he and the king spent their time together. This the writer dedicated and presented to the King in 893. The founding of Oxford University has been attributed to the influence of Asser with Alfred; but from his life of Alfred it would appear that he was the reviver rather than the founder of the University. There was a Bishop of

S. David's named Asser in 905, probably the same man as Asser Menevensis. Caradog of Llancarvan speaks in his Welsh Chronicle of "Asser the Wise, Archbishop of the Britons, died A.D. 906." The Saxon Chronicle differs from the Welsh in fixing the date of his death in 910. In addition to his life of Alfred, he is said to have written several other works, and to have translated some into English.



CHAPTER XVI.

A.D. 880—948.

HOWEL DDA

"Government exists for the purpose of keeping the peace, for the purpose of compelling us to settle our disputes by arbitration instead of settling them by blows, for the purpose of compelling us to supply our wants by industry instead of supplying them by rapine."

MACAULAY

HOWEL Dda, or Howel the Good, was the son of Cadell, the son of Roderi Mawr, or Roderick the Great, and was born about the close of the ninth century. On the death of his father A.D. 907, he became Prince of South Wales, and of Powis in North Wales. In the year 913 he inherited the dominions of his uncle Anarawd, Prince of Gwynedd, and thus became Prince of the whole of Wales.

Rhoderi Mawr left three sons, Anarawd, Cadell, and Mervyn, among whom he divided his Principality of Wales, about A.D. 870. Anarawd had Gwynedd, with the Royal palace at Aberffraw in Anglesey, to which place Rhodri had transferred the royal residence from Caer Seiont, Caernarvon¹. Cadell had the principality of South Wales, with the royal palace at Dinmawr; and Mervyn that of Powis, with

1. Originally the seat of government was at Deganwy on the Conway. Here Owain Gwynedd resided when he founded the see of Bangor A.D. 550, and which was co-extensive with the Principality of Gwynedd, or North Wales. Up to 1859 the Deanery of Dyffryn Clwyd, situate between Ruthin and Corwen, was part of the Diocese of Bangor, though situate in the heart of the Diocese of S. Asaph; and the Deaneries of Cyfeilog with Mawddwy were part of the Diocese of S. Asaph, though situate in the Diocese of Bangor. The former was a colony of the Principality of Gwynedd and the latter a colony of the Principality of Powis. A transference of the Deaneries from one diocese into the other was made in 1859, and celebrated on the occasion of the re-opening of Ruthin Church in Nov. of that year, when the Bishops of S. Asaph (Short) and Bangor (Campell) officiated.

the palace at Mathravan. These three princes were called "y tri tywysog taleithiog," or diademed princes, from wearing diadems of gold, set with precious stones; but Anarawd, as the eldest son, had the title of "Brenin Cymru oll," or King of all Wales, and received a yearly tribute from the Princes of South Wales and Powis.

The Principality of Powis covered the present area of the diocese of S. Asaph, which comprised then all the land between the Wye and the Severn, so that the dominion of Howel extended considerably beyond the limits of the modern Principality. Dinevawr would represent the Deheubarth or South Wales, with some exceptions.

On his accession to the government of the whole of Wales, Howel Dda began in earnest to reform the many abuses then existing in Wales, through the diversity and uncertainty of its laws. "*Brut y Tywysogion*" says—"A.D. 926, Howel the Good, son of Cadell, King of all Wales, went to Rome, and three Bishops with him,—Martin, Bishop of Menevia, Mordaf, Bishop of Bangor, and Marchllys, Bishop of Teilaw; and Blegwryd, son of Owain, chief of the court of Llandaff, brother to Morgan, King of Glamorgan, accompanied them. The reason they went there was, to consult the wise how best to improve the laws of Wales, and to ascertain the laws of other countries and cities, and the laws in force in Britain during the sovereignty of the Roman Emperors. And after obtaining information of these things, and the counsel of the wise, they returned to Britain, where Howel convoked all the heads of tribes of the country and their assistants, and all the wise and learned, ecclesiastical and lay, in a combined session at the White House on the Tŷ in Dyfed."

To add greater solemnity to the occasion, Howel conven-

ed the conference to meet in Lent, A.D. 928, to invoke the Divine blessing on their work. During the whole of the solemn season, he and all the members of the conference continued in prayer and fasting, "craving the assistance and direction of God's Holy Spirit, that he might reform the laws and customs of the country of Wales, to the honour of God, and the quiet government of the people."

The season of Lent—the observance of which is of great antiquity, Tertullian A.D. 160, speaks of it as being observed before his time—was never more solemnly and strictly kept in Wales. At the close of the Fast, Howel directed twelve of the wisest and most experienced among the delegates to proceed to examine the ancient laws of Wales. Among these, Blegwryd was the leading spirit. The result was the retaining of some of the ancient laws unaltered, others were amended, and new ones enacted.

In the Preface to the Venedotian edition of the Laws of Howel Dda, it is stated. "And after they had constituted the laws as they considered to be fitting, Howel the Good, and the Bishop of Menevia, the Bishop of S. Asaph, and the Bishop of Bangor, together with others, making thirteen in number, of teachers and of other wise men, of the laity, went to Rome to obtain the authority of the Pope of Rome for the laws of Howel. And there were read the laws of Howel in the presence of the Pope of Rome, and the Pope was satisfied with them, and gave them his authority; and Howel, with his companions, returned home. And from that time until the present day, the laws of Howel the Good are in force."² Brut y Tywysogion is not, however, so ex-

1 Councils &c. i. 213.

2. Councils, &c., i. 219. These laws continued in force in Wales till 1284 when by the Statute of Rhuddlan, Wales was annexed to England, and a code of English laws introduced.

pllicit as to Papal sanction. "And Howel after that went a second time to Rome, and obtained the judgment of the wise there, and ascertained those laws to be in accordance with the law of God, and the laws of countries and cities in the receipt of faith and baptism."¹ The Popes were about this time putting forward their claims to the same dominion over the secular affairs of princes, which they had long before established over their spiritual concerns. The doctrine of the temporal supremacy of the Pope had not then indeed fully developed, but it was taught and believed before it was finally declared a dogma by Pope Gregory VII., or Hildebrand. The influence of this teaching was no doubt felt in Wales as in other parts of Christendom.

Many causes contributed in the past to give Rome a prominent position above all other cities. As the capital of a vast empire, and the seat of the most numerous and wealthy ancient Christian community, its bishop would naturally take social precedence, and exercise a wider influence than any other bishop. The status of the Bishop of Rome in early times was, however, nothing more than that of a first among equals. The Roman Bishop who first claimed obedience as the successor of S. Peter was Stephen A.D. 253—7, in his difference with the African church. At the fall of the Roman Empire, Rome sank to the level of the capital of the Italian kingdom; but Pope Gelasius repudiated the support of ecclesiastical canons and secular law, and based the primacy of Rome absolutely on Apostolic authority.

It is not to be denied that a tradition did exist in early times that S. Peter was Bishop of Rome. But, if that tradition be submitted, like others of the same kind, to the test of

1. Councils, &c., i. 210,

historical investigation, it will be found to rest on very slender foundation. In the first place, Scripture is silent about his having been in Rome—a remarkable silence, if his having been Bishop there was of such vital importance to the Church, as the Roman divines have made it to be. Then, the first tradition of his having been at Rome at all does not appear for more than a century after his death. It is nearly two centuries after that event that we meet with anything like the opinion, that the Roman bishops were his successors. It is three centuries before we find him spoken of as Bishop of Rome. But when we reach three centuries we are told that he not only was Bishop of Rome, but that he resided five or twenty years at Rome; a statement utterly irreconcilable with the history of the New Testament¹. When therefore the Church of England in her xxxviiith Article of Religion asserts “the Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England,” she simply gives utterance and reasserts the same doctrine put forward by the British Bishops in their conference with Augustine A.D. 604.

To return to Howel Dda. “The year of Christ was 940 when Howel the Good died, the chief and glory of the Britons.”² He left four sons, all of whom are said to have perished in the desolating wars which followed the death of their father.

The triumph of arms or the accession of territory may bestow glory and power on the victor, but it is left to the silent work of legislation to confer the greatest blessing that can be enjoyed by a nation,—those derived from a wise and prudent lawgiver. The wise statesmanship of Howel made itself felt in the fact, that scarcely once during his reign of

¹ Bp. Harold Browne on the xxxix Articles, p. 118

² Councils etc. i. 221.

35 years was the peace broken by foreign invasion or internal dissension. A pious and a devout man, he made full proof of his exalted position to the advancement of religion among his subjects. He is sometimes designated the Welsh Justinian, in connection with the laws which bear his name. As a lawgiver he, however, ranks no higher than a consolidator of old customs, existing long before his time in Wales, as the unwritten or common law of the country, which, owing to the incessant quarrels of the Welsh princes, had fallen into disuse. Gathering together the fragments into one code, Howel was the reviver of old customs rather than the inventor of new ones,—a follower rather than a leader. And it was probably the safer course to follow than to lead at a time when Wales was in a state of political transition, by the fusion of petty principedoms into one with Howel Dda at its head. The revival of old rather than the invention of new customs, appealed with greater force to the approbation of a people proverbially conservative of old traditions as the Welsh people have always been. Of this, we have abundant proof in our own time, in the preservation of and deeply rooted love of the Welsh language. In spite of two conquests, and centuries of commercial, social and literary intercourse with England, the fact holds good unto this day, and is embodied in the oft quoted lines, commonly attributed to Taliesin—

“Eu nŕ a folant,
 “Eu hiaith a gadwant,
 “Eu gwlad a gollant,
 “Ond gwyllt Walia.”¹

Essentially a man of peace, his reign reflected his character ; he was a good rather than a great man ; and his laws, interesting as they are as throwing light on the customs of the times, lack the principles of Roman Statute law.

“ Their worship still to God they'll give,
 With them their native tongue shall live,
 Their father-land and fertile vales.
 They'll lose, except the wilds of Wales.”

CHAPTER XVII.

A.D. 1066—1115.

FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST TO THE CONSECRATION OF THE FIRST NORMAN BISHOP OF WALES.

“England’s crime in the eyes of Rome—the crime to punish which William’s crusade was approved and blessed—was the independence still retained by the island, church and nation. A land where the church and nation were but different names for the same community, a land where priests and prelates were subject to the law like other men, a land where the King and his Witan gave and took away the staff of the bishop, was a land which in the eyes of Rome, was more dangerous than a land of Jews and Saracens.” FREEMAN.

ALTHOUGH the Conqueror was unfavourable to the extravagant claims of supremacy now put forward by Pope Gregory vii. or Hildebrand, the Norman invasion of England was under Papal sanction, and William relied much on the support of the clergy, and there can be no doubt that the Conquest greatly increased the influence of Rome in this country, for the Norman bishops, who came in its train, were far more amenable to Papal teaching than the clergy of England and Wales. Up to the eleventh century, the popes were satisfied with the claim to spiritual supremacy only—a claim generally established in the west. Hildebrand welded into one the spiritual and temporal powers, by which he claimed an absolute sovereignty over all churches and nations, and the clergy throughout Christendom as the subjects of the Pope, to the exclusion of their native allegiance. To enforce his claim, Hildebrand enjoined the celibacy of the clergy as helpful to concentrate their affections on the distant see of Rome. About the year 1100, however, Pope Paschal wrote a letter to Archbishop Anselm, in which he stated that the most valuable clergy in England were the sons of priests; and that as regards this country, the canon

relating to the marriage of the clergy was to be put in abeyance.

The Normans treated the Saxons with as much contumely and oppression as the latter had done the Britons. The Saxons were reduced generally to such a state of meanness and poverty, that for a very long time the English name was as much a reproach to the Norman, as the British had been to the Saxon; and several generations passed away before one single family of Saxon pedigree was raised to any considerable honours, or could so much as attain the rank of baron of the realm. William, well knowing how ill-affected the English were towards him, took every precaution to defend himself by taking away their arms, and forbidding them any light in their houses after 8 o'clock in the evening, at which hour a bell was rung to warn them to cover, or put out, as the word curfew implies, all fires and lights, under penalty of a heavy fine.

" Yet as the terrors of the lordly bell,
That quench, from hut to palace, lamps and fires,
Touch not the tapers of the sacred quires ;
Even so a thralldom studious to expel
Old laws, and ancient customs to derange,
Brings to religion no injurious change.

WORDSWORTH.

William conquered Wales A.D. 1081. In the same year he made a pilgrimage to the shrine of S. David at Menevia,¹ and bestowed gifts on the churches, the bishops, priests, and monasteries of Wales. Not unmindful of the hostility existing between the Welsh and the Anglo-Saxons, the Conqueror sought to enlist the goodwill of the former by gifts, and a pilgrimage to the shrine of the patron saint of Wales.

Church architecture began to be studied in William's reign, and monuments of its revival still exist in the Nor-

1. Councils, &c, i. 297.

man churches of this country, which mark an epoch in the history of Church architecture as regards simplicity and solidity. After the Conquest, William and his barons, much to their credit, applied themselves to the task of repairing the churches that had been injured by the wars; and, in many cases, built better and nobler structures than the old buildings.

The Domesday Book, so called from its authority in doom or judgment on the matters contained in it, was a survey of all the landed property in the kingdom, in the compilation of which the bishops and parochial clergy helped largely by supplying information, and contained a statement of the value of the land, the names of the holders, the number of churches and monasteries, and how they were endowed—information so methodically arranged, that the wealth of a great part of the kingdom, its most powerful men, and their titles to their estates, could be ascertained at a glance. The Domesday Book is said to have been so complete that not even an ox, cow, or pig was omitted.¹

About the year 1092, Herveus, a Breton,² or Herve le Breton, confessor to Henry I., was consecrated Bishop of Bangor, by the Archbishop of York, during the vacancy of the see of Canterbury, between the years 1089 and 1093, and held the see sixteen years. Herveus was evidently not appointed by the election of the king of Gwynedd,³ and being a rigid disciplinarian, he became unpopular; and ill-treating the Welsh, they became rebellious; and having murdered his brother, threatened to treat him the same, whereupon he fled for protection to Henry I., who gave

1. An instance of this exactness may be mentioned here by the reference it contains to an old silver gilt chalice and paten, still existing, in Rhuddlan parish church.

2. Councils, i. 299.

3. Ibid

him the Abbey of Ely for his support A.D. 1107. At the suggestion of Herveus, the King, with the consent of the monks, created Ely into a bishopric A.D. 1109, the abbey church converted into a cathedral, and Herveus became its first bishop, whereupon he resigned the see of Bangor, which continued vacant eleven years.¹ This long vacancy is only one instance out of many such cases, caused by the death-struggles between the Saxons and the Welsh, showing the difficulty of appointing bishops prepared to undertake the work in such troublous times. The appointment of Herveus, a Breton, and therefore allied in blood and language to the Welsh, had, no doubt, a conciliatory object ; but it missed its aim. For, as the appointment was made by the King of England, and without the consent of the Prince of Gwynedd, Herveus came to Wales by an authority which the Welsh Church repudiated. In the archives of Ely Cathedral is a celebrated Bull of Pope Paschal,² addressed to Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, recommending Herveus for a bishopric, and reciting his illtreatment in his former bishopric of "Pancor." Anselm, in the very year of his consecration, A.D. 1093, put forward his claims of jurisdiction in Wales, by placing Herwald, Bishop of Llandaff, under an interdict.

The death of Rhyddmarch, Bishop of S. David's, in 1098, is an event in the history of the Church of the Cymry. He was the son of Sulien the Wise, also Bishop of S. David's. Rhyddmarch is described as the wisest of the Welsh nation ; one without an equal or second, excepting his father, for learning, wisdom, and piety. After Rhyddmarch's death instruction for scholars ceased at Menevia.³ With regard to

1, Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 25.

2. "Ex. Col. amicissimi Doctor Tanner Eccl. Elien Prebend."

3. *Councils, &c.*, i. 298,

"instructions to scholars," referred to in *Brut y Tywysogion*, Haddan and Stubbs,¹ observe, that it was no doubt prompted by regretful remembrance of the last of the Welsh Bishops before Norman influence set in; and is confirmed by the existence of (1) the Psalter written by Ieuan, with verses by Rhyddmarch prefixed (2) of the MS. of S. Augustine, De Trinitate, by the same author, with his hexameters at the end of it, portions of which verses have been printed by Bishop Burgess (Durham 1812) from a half burnt 16th century copy of them in the Cotton MSS. and are (Gildas excepted) one of the earliest extant compositions by a Welshman, bearing on church matters, and of an ecclesiastical origin. (3) Rhyddmarch's Life of S. David.

Ricemarchus, or Rhyddmarch, was Bishop of S. David's from A.D. 1088 to 1098. He collected the materials for the Life of S. David from ancient MSS., belonging, for the most part, to S. David's: and which he tells us, he had "gathered together that they should not be lost, sucking most subtly, as with the mouth of a bee, from a flowery garden of thick herbs for the glory of the Father, and the benefit of others." The Life of S. David closes with two collects, showing that it was written for public reading during divine worship.

"The time when these 'Lives' were compiled," says the editor of the *Lives of the Cambro British Saints*,² "is not known, but it was probably about the twelfth century, when the descendants of the Norman invaders were desirous to render more intimate the connection that existed between the British and Roman churches, and to conciliate the Welsh by writing favourable particulars of their national saints, whom they venerated. And it may be concluded

1. Councils, &c., i, 298.

2. Preface viii.

that all those Lives were originally written in Latin, it being a general language known to the clergy, and that they were subsequently abridged and translated by them into Welsh to be read in their churches. And we have in this work a specimen of the manner in which it was done in the Lives of S. David, where the former of the two in Welsh,¹ is an abridgement of the later in Latin ; in the same way, as in a later period, some of the Cambro British Clergy translated and adapted English sermons to suit their Welsh congregations."

The reading of these Lives—termed legends, and in Welsh, *llithoedd*, both words being of the same derivation² and import, to distinguish them from homilies, or sermons, delivered extempore,—during divine service was intended then, like the Apocrypha is now read, for example of life and instruction of manners." And they were read on the

1. The following extract from the translation of the Life of S. David, taken from the Welsh MS in the British Museum entitled *Buchedd Dewi Sant*, is interesting (1) as shewing the nature of the legends read out in churches, and (2) the style of Welsh of the period:

"Y lle y dysgwyt Dewi undaw, a elwit Vetus Rubus, sef yw hynny yng Kymraec, yr Henllwyn ; yno y disgwyd idaw ef seilim yr holl flwyddyn ae llithion a'r offerenneu ; yno y gweles y gyt disgyblion ef colomen a gyluin eur idi yn disgu Dewi, ad yn gwareu yn y gylch. Odyna y daeth Dewi hit att athro a elwit Paulinus, a disgybyl oed hwnnw y escob sant a oed yn Ruvein ; a hwnnw a dysgawd Dewi yn y vu athro (hynny vu.) Ac yna y damchweinawd colli o athro Dewi y lygeit, o dra gormod dolur yn y legit. A galw aoruc yr athro atto y holl disgyblion ol yn ol y geisiaw y ganthunt ganhorthwy am y leyeit ; ac nyt yttoed yr un yn y allel idaw ; ac yn diwethaf oll galw Dewi aoruc, "Dauyd," heb yr athro, "edrych fy llygeit. y maent ymponi." "Arglwydd athro," heb Dewi, "nac arch i mi edrych dy lygeit ; yr ys deg iulned y daethum i attat ti y dysgu, nyt edrycheis etto yth wynneb," sef aoruc yr athro yna medyliaw, a rynedu y kewilyd a dywawt y mab, (or ; "a ryuedu y mab a dywedut). Kanys velly y mae," heb ef wrth y mab, "dyro dy law ar vy wyneb i, a bendicka ve llygeit a mi a vydaf holl iach." A phan roddes Dauyd y llaw ar y legeit ef y buant holl iach. Ac yna y bendigawd Paulinus Dauyd o pob bendith a geffit yn ysgrifennedic yn y ddedyf hen ac yn newid."—(Lives of Cambro British Saints, 104, 5.)

2. From the Latin, *lego*, to read.

Festival days of the saints, which were the days of their death, reckoned as those of their birth, wherein they entered into life eternal. The *llithoedd*, or lessons, now read in the services of our Church, occupy the place the legends did in the middle ages; and though many of the legends were pretty and instructive, they were often couched in language of exaggerated praise, and partook largely of the nature of funeral panegyrics, common enough in our own time. During the middle ages, the illiterate received religious instruction entirely by oral teaching, and as printing¹ was then unknown, there was no popular literature to influence the masses. Legends were more intelligible and acceptable to the people than dry theological disquisitions; just as the typical Welsh sermon of today, containing a pathetic and telling anecdote is more popular and better remembered than an elaborate exposition of some intricate points of theology. Human nature is the same in every age, though the fashion in which it asserts itself is ever changing. The erection of memorials of the dead, in various forms at different periods, shows the same human instinct to perpetuate the memory of the departed. The floral cross, or wreath, lovingly laid on the grave, expresses, in the silent language of flowers, the same truths today as the legends did in the Middle Ages, that the past is not dead, and that the future is one of "sure and certain hope of the Resurrection to eternal life, through our Lord Jesus Christ; who shall change our vile body, that it may be like unto his glorious body, according to the mighty working whereby he is able to subdue all kings to himself."²

1. The first book printed in the Welsh language dates no further back than the year 1546.

2. Burial Service.

CHAPTER XVIII.

A.D. 1115—1188.

FROM THE CONSECRATION OF BERNARD, THE FIRST NORMAN
BISHOP OF WALES, TO THE VISITATION OF ARCHBISHOP
BALDWIN AS LEGATE.

"A.D. 1112. Yr un flwyddyn y bu farw Griffin Escob Dewi; ac y gwnaeth y Brenin wr a elwid Berned Norman yn Escob yn ei le heb na chennad na chyfarch ysgolheigion y Cymry; ac yna, colles Escob Dewi ei fraint ac a'i dug Escob Caint."¹

Brut y Tywysog.

THE twelfth century opened with persistent attempts by the King of England to subject the Welsh Church to the jurisdiction of Canterbury, by appointing his own nominees into her vacant sees; and insisting on their consecration by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The attempt, stoutly, and, at first, successfully resisted by the Welsh Princes, was, however, ultimately successful. The difference between the doctrine of the Welsh and English churches had now, through the influence of the Norman Conquest, and the intercommunion with continental churches, largely disappeared. By direction of Pope Calixtus ii, the Welsh Bishops A.D. 1115, through Bernard, the Bishop of S. David's, took the oath of canonical obedience to Rudolph, Archbishop of Canterbury, as metropolitan. Bernard was the first Norman Bishop of Wales, was appointed by Henry I. to the see of S. David's, and consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom he also professed

1. "The same year Grifin, Bishop of S. David's, died, and the king made a person called Bernard, a Norman, Bishop in his room, without the leave of, or asking the Welsh scholars; by which the Bishop of S. David's lost his privilege, which was taken by the Bishop of Canterbury." Councils, &c., i. 307.

canonical obedience. Before this, however, Urban, probably a Welshman, was not elected, like his predecessors, by the Welsh Princes, but by Norman nomination, & was consecrated to Llandaff at Canterbury A.D. 1107, and professed canonical obedience. Soon after his occupation of the see, a dispute arose between Urban and Wilfrid, Bishop of S. David's, respecting the boundaries of their respective dioceses, and referred to in a Bull of Honorius II., dated April 27th, 1129. The dispute was settled by a Welsh jury against Urban.¹ According to Godwin, Pope Calixtus, by way of compensation for the submission of the Welsh Church to Canterbury, dignified David—the patron Saint of Wales—with the title "Saint," A.D. 1115. Though the canonization of S. David is accepted by the Church of Rome, there is no extant Papal authority for it. If he never was canonized, the Roman Calendar contains the names of no Welsh Saints. Their absence may be explained probably by the fact that the early British Church, of which S. David was so distinguished a member, repudiated the doctrine of Papal Supremacy. Godwin is, however, the earliest traceable authority in support of the formal canonization of S. David; and if by Calixtus II., as Godwin asserts, then certainly 1119—1124. If he was really canonized in form, it is curious that no Bull, and not even an allusion to the subject should occur in the S. David's statutes.²

David, a Welshman, from the Scotch Abbey of Wurzburg, elected by the Prince of Gwynedd, but consecrated at Westminster, April 4th, 1120, to the see of Bangor, professed obedience to Canterbury. On May 7th, 1120, the same Bishop, at the request of Urban, Bishop of Llandaff, consented to the translation³ of the relics of Dyfrig from Bardsey to Llan-

1. Councils, &c., i. 303.

2. Councils, &c., i. 316.

3. Angl. Sacr, ii. 661.

daff, where they were reinterred, on the north west side of the high altar of Llandaff Cathedral. The spot was pointed out until recently as "the tomb of S. Dubricius."¹ The translation of the bones of this great bishop of the Ancient British Church, after they had been resting in earthly dust from A.D. 568 to A.D. 1120, was a touching tribute to his memory, and the event was probably one out of many attempts made at this period, to reconcile the Welsh Church to submission to the authority of Canterbury, by honouring the dust of one of her greatest bishops.

In A.D. 1140, Meurig, elected by the Welsh, but consecrated to Bangor, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, against the will of Owain Gwynedd, and his brother Cadwalader, then princes of North Wales, objected to swear allegiance to the King of England; and Bernard was summoned Nov. 1, to meet the two princes at Aberdovey, to oppose the assumed authority of Canterbury over the see of Bangor. Gilbert of S. Asaph was consecrated at Lambeth A.D. 1143, by the Archbishop of Canterbury; but Gilbert's Profession is not entered upon the Canterbury Roll's, although his consecration is endorsed upon them.² Haddan and Stubbs³ point out that if the letter of the Chapter of S. David's, dated 1145, really refers to Gilbert by the Richard therein mentioned, and if their very one-sided statements are at all to be trusted, then he must have been elected by the clergy of S. Asaph, to be presented to the Bishop of S. David's for

1. The monument erected over his remains, which has no inscription, is believed to belong to the 13th century; and is thus described in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, Vol. ii., Fifth Series, 196—208. "S. Dubricius is represented with a high, plain mitre. The pastoral staff lies on the breast, from right to left, the crook being gone, and the right hand rests upon it; the amice is worn, and the maniple hangs over the left arm. The face is close shaven, and something not very intelligible appears to be held in the mouth."

2. Councils &c. i. 348.

3. Ibid i. 347.

consecration, but with the consent, as of the Earl of Chester, so also of King Stephen ; whose captivity (Feb. 2—Nov. 1141) is there said to have delayed such consecration, and to have given Theobald the opportunity of arrogating it to himself. On the other hand, Owain Gwynedd captured the castle of Mold, Flintshire, A.D. 1144, and must have been in full possession of the area covered by the diocese of S. Asaph and the surrounding neighbourhood, then and for some time before ; and he was one of the most valorous and successful chieftains that ever bore sway in the Principality. It was owing to Owain's powerful restraining influence that the diocese of Bangor—co-extensive with his Principality of Gwynedd—held out successfully against the aggressions of Rome and Canterbury, for Becket's attempt to thrust a Norman bishop on the see at the death of Meurig—Aug. 12, 1161—was fruitless. This Bishop, who had presided over the see of Bangor since 1139, "refused for some time to take the oaths to the King of England, but was with much ado persuaded to do it."¹ In a letter on the subject of the vacancy, written in 1165, and addressed in regal style by Owain to Archbishop Becket, the Welsh Prince sanctions the consecration of a Bishop of Bangor other than by the Archbishop of Canterbury, but professing obedience to him. At the same time he was careful to remind Becket, that such obedience on the part of the Bishop of Bangor could not be claimed as a right, apart from the concurrence of himself as Prince of Gwynedd. It is not surprising that so haughty a prelate, holding such high notions of his own prerogative, should have declined the terms laid down by Owain. From a letter addressed by the Archdeacon of Bangor in 1165₂ to Becket, it would appear that the Archbishop attempted to

¹ Browne Willis' *Survey of Bangor Cathedral*.

² *Councils &c.* i, 365.

assert his authority over the diocese in spite of Owain, by committing the care of the diocese *sede vacante* to the hands of the Archdeacon. In thanking the Archbishop for the custody of the see, the Archdeacon expresses regret at the enforced absence of Becket from his own diocese—as the result of his differences with the King. The Archbishop had fled to France, where he remained four years under the protection of Louis. Every effort was made by King and Archbishop to uphold their several prerogatives. In 1169 Henry ii. issued an Ordinance against the favourers of Becket. After strict prohibitions to leaving or entering the kingdom, introducing Bulls or letters, the Ordinance commands that if any person, clerical or lay, should make application without letters from the King for his passage, he was to be captured and kept in custody, and all Welshmen in English territory were to be kept there. Becket, with the sanction of the Pope, on the other hand, issued in the same year a circular letter to his suffragans, commanding them finally to issue sentences of Interdict, and threats of excommunication throughout their dioceses against the King, and directing each of the English bishops to enforce that Interdict, “per totum episcopatum vestrum in omnibus ecclesiis.” The same letter was addressed to the Bishops of S. David’s, Llandaff and S. Asaph.¹ The name of the Bishop of Bangor is omitted, because the see was vacant at the time.

The Interdict was then a newly invented, but powerful weapon in the hands of the Church of Rome, which was wielded with merciless severity to the severance of the spiritual privileges of a whole nation—men, women, and children; for, immediately it was promulgated, churches were closed, bells silenced; no divine services were held,

¹ Councils &c. i. 375

and the administration of the sacraments prohibited except to children and to the dying. Unlike the ancient and lawful sentence of excommunication, which merely deprived the guilty of the consolations of religion, an interdict involved the guilty and the innocent alike. The dread of such a sentence weighed heavily on the public mind in those days; and the King himself, if he did not fear its spiritual effect, was alarmed lest it should shake the allegiance of his subjects. At last, by the intervention of the Pope, Henry's quarrel with Becket was adjusted; and the Primate prepared to return to England, to act with greater insolence than ever. Indeed, so anxious was the King to make up all differences, that he took the most extraordinary steps to flatter Becket's vanity, and even on one occasion humiliated himself so far as to hold the stirrup of the haughty prelate while he mounted his horse.¹

The correspondence on the subject of the vacant see of Bangor took place during Becket's exile, which explains the desire of Owain, the Dean and the Bangor clergy, to have their new bishop consecrated by some other Archbishop. In a letter to the Archdeacon of Bangor² A.D. 1165, Becket charges him to elect no bishop without informing him, and restrains De Bardsey—the first Dean of Bangor, to which office he was elected in 1162. In the same year the Dean was summoned to appear before the Archbishop, to answer to the charge of seeking a metropolitan in Ireland, instead of at Canterbury. His action, however, was justified by the five years exile of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the see of Bangor had been vacant since 1161. In a letter written by Becket to Humbald, Bishop of Ostia, he speaks of Bangor as not having

1. Hume's History of England, i., p. 383.

2. Councils, &c., i., 366.

had a bishop for "almost ten years." The name of the Papal nominee, who was kept out by Owain, is not recorded, and Bangor was vacant as regards a Canterbury Bishop from 1161 to the consecration of Guianus, May 22, 1177. But the episcopal duties were probably discharged during that time by an Irish Bishop. There was a family connection between Owain's family and Ireland, for his father, Gruffydd ap Cynan, was born and educated there, and it would be natural that an application would be made, and made successfully, for the help that was needed during the temporary vacancy of Bangor. And in his bequests of money to various churches in Ireland and North Wales, Owain's father left more to Bangor than any other church. Pope Alexander III. issued an injunction December 10, 1165, addressed to the Bangor clergy in the following terms: "Alexander Episcopus servus servorum Dei dilectis filiis universis clericis in Episcopatu Bangorensium constitutis, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem."¹ On Jan. 29, 1166, the Pope wrote to Becket to compel the Bangor clergy to elect a bishop, or elect one himself. In obedience to this the Archbishop summoned the Archdeacon and Canons of Bangor to appear by Midlent, to answer to a similar charge laid against De Bardsey, Dean of Bangor, of seeking a metropolitan elsewhere, and to elect a Bishop of their own. The Archbishop subsequently absolved them from any oath to elect Owain's nominee. And in 1169² the Pope charged Becket to proceed to strong measures against Owain and the Archdeacon of Bangor, who had evidently paid no heed to the Papal injunction. Addressing Owain himself, Becket urges him not to yield to bad councils, and to put away his kinswoman, whom he had married, and to allow a bishop to be consecrated to Bangor. But death,

1. Councils, &c., i., 367,

2. Ibid,

“the mighty leveller,” and queller of all strife, intervened,



Bangor Cathedral, (North West View.)

Drawn in 1805.

and removed both Prince and Archbishop before they settled their differences. Owain died in 1169, and in the

following year Becket was murdered in his cathedral. Owain was buried in Bangor Cathedral, where his father had been buried before him, his rights over which, as Prince of Gwynedd, he so stoutly and successfully maintained.

Apart from his distinguished military powers and wisdom as a ruler, Owain was celebrated among the rulers of Wales for the patronage he extended to Welsh bards. The glowing strains of panegyric in which they celebrate his name clearly show this. While admiring his character as a sovereign, his resolute courage, and the spirit of patriotism with which he opposed and defeated the ambitious projects of Henry ii. he had his failings as a man. The pitiful jealousies, which involved him in so many domestic feuds, and his brutal treatment of his nephew Cunedda, are blemishes on his character, partly relieved however by the restless temper and unsettled condition of things in his time. Taking him all in all, Owen Gwynedd, with all his faults, must be regarded as one of the most eminent princes of Wales, during the period of its independence; and, as a warrior, stands unrivalled.

Henry ii made a pilgrimage to S. Davids' Cathedral about the year 1171 to the tomb of S. David; and there made an offering of two choral caps of velvet, intended for singers in serving God and S. David; and he also offered a handful of silver about ten shillings.¹ This pilgrimage was dictated by political motives, to conciliate the Welsh people by gifts at the shrine of the patron saint of Wales. William the Conqueror had before this done the same thing, and from the same motive.

¹ Brut y Tywysogion (See Councils &c, i. 377



A Cistercian Monk.

CHAPTER XIX.

A.D. 1143

THE MENDICANT ORDERS IN WALES.

" Dress and tonsure profit little ; but change of heart and perfect mortification of the passions make a true monk."

THOMAS A KEMPIS.

THE Mendicant Orders were of post-Norman origin, and were divided into four classes : (1) the Franciscans, or Friars Minors ; (2) the Dominicans, or Black Friars ; (3) the Cistercians, Carmelites or White Friars ; (4) the Augustines, or Grey Friars. Of these, the Franciscans,—who went poor among the poor as brothers, helping them to purity of life—and the Dominicans,—banded together to maintain the purity of doctrine of the church—were the most considerable, the Franciscans chief of all. "The

greatest of the Schoolmen," says Hallam, "were the Dominican, Thomas Aquinas and the Franciscan, Dun-Scotus. They were founders of rival sects, which wrangled with each other for two or three centuries, and the authority of their writings, which were incredibly voluminous, especially those of the former, impeded in some measure the growth of new men." And this love of controversy, the seeds of which were scattered broadcast by these Orders, found the ground in Wales not uncongenial to its growth ; for, from the days of Pelagius until now, the Cymry have shown a keen interest in theological controversies, especially on those crucial points which have left an impress on their creeds. The least popular in Wales were the Grey Friars, so the Welsh Triads would lead us to suppose. "Tri pheth ni waeth pa leiaf y clywir ohonynt ; cân hwch ar wynt, cnec hen wrach, a phregeth Brawd Llwyd." "Tri pheth sydd, a gwae a ddelo dan eu crafangau ; cyffeswr o Frawd Llwyd, a llogwr arian, ac arglwydd tir o gostoglwyth."

Unlike the Monastic Orders of the old foundations, such as the Benedictines, who recognized the right of the bishops to visit them, the Mendicants were independent of all local authority, and were amenable only to the Pope, who furnished them with unlimited powers to proclaim and establish his supremacy far and wide. This power was often unscrupulously used to the annoyance of the secular clergy. Whenever the door of the parish church was closed against a Mendicant priest, which was often the case, he would harangue the masses in the open air to the disparagement of the parish priest, especially if he happened to be on bad terms with him. In addition to this, the friars heard confessions, and absolved the black sheep from whom the parish priest had with-held absolution ; and it need not surprise us that conduct of this kind roused the hostility of the parochial clergy against the Mendicants--a record of

which still exists in the grotesque figures which decorate the spouts of the roofs of some of our churches—and similar satirical caricatures may be still seen on the painted glass of some of our Cathedrals. Giraldus inveighed so much against the monks, in consequence of their profligacy, and incurred their odium to that extent, that he used to add a petition to his litany, "From the malice of the monks, good Lord deliver me."

The principles of the Mendicant Orders, like those of modern Dissenters, propagated schism; for they split among themselves.¹ The ignorant ploughman who sought spiritual guidance at the hands of the Friars Minors was only told, as he valued his soul, to beware of the Carmelites, the Carmelites edified him by denouncing the Dominicans, the Dominicans in their turn, by condemning the Augustins. "Be true to us," was the language of each, "give us your money, and you shall be saved without a creed."²

The Cistercians, so called from their chief Monastery in Cîteaux, in Burgundy, or Cistericum—the Latin form of it, where the strongest body of Mendicants in the Principality, and first settled in Wales at Trefgarn, Pembrokeshire, A.D. 1143, and almost immediately removed to Whitland and Cwm Hir, Radnorshire, and from thence to Cymmer, Merionethshire, A.D. 1198.³ The occupation of the Cistercians was chiefly agricultural, and they farmed the Welsh hill-sides by sheep feeding, and did a large trade in wool. The Cistercian monk went to market to sell his cattle, or his

¹ Though there was a corporate union between the Mendicants and the secular clergy, inasmuch as they kept within the unity of the Church, the Mendicants had much in common with modern Nonconformity. The Calvinistic, Independent, Baptist, and Wesleyan bodies in Wales are divided against each other, and rivals for supremacy, opposed to the Church as by law established, but professing union with her on cardinal points of doctrine.

² Blunt's Hist. of Ref. 41.

³ Councils, &c., i. 394

wool; and, according to Giraldus, he was no bad hand at a bargain. Indeed, the same writer speaks of them as the best farmers and builders in Wales; though he is careful to notify the fraudulent bargains of the Cistercians, and he accuses the monks of Strata Florida of swindling him out of his theological books, which he had collected from his youth up, and which he had given in pledge to them before he went to Rome, to plead his cause for the see of S. David's. The Cistercian Order, of set purpose settled in the wilderness; and, for the most part, pitched their dwellings in spots of great natural beauty¹, and Wales afforded ample scope for the exercise of their taste for the beautiful in nature: and whenever we stand among the ruins of Cistercian Abbeys, we may always expect to find the surrounding scenery pleasing and attractive. "Believe me," said S. Bernard, the great patron of the Order, "I have learnt more from trees than I ever learnt from men." The custom of the Cistercians when settling in a fresh district, was to beg some desolate piece of land, which was at once reclaimed and cultivated; and the solitudes which delighted them so much, they brought into greater beauty and fertility than that in which they found them when they entered, as they frequently did, on a wild, dreary waste, often almost bare of grass.² And this barrenness was often a true picture of the spiritual destitution of the inhabitants of the districts where the Cistercians settled, who, however, were gradually reclaimed by scattering among them seeds of kindness, which the members of the Order did in Christian love, and with no

1. Freeman His. Norman Conq. i, xxiii. 233.

2. The pastures surrounding Bala Lake, situate amidst charming scenery, is an instance of land granted to the Cistercians. Owen de Brogyntyn made a grant to God, S. Mary and the monks of that Order at Basingwerk Abbey, of "a certain water in Fenthlinn (Penllyn) called Thlintegit (Llyn Tegid) or Pemblemere, and all the pasture of the said land of Fenthlinn." (Pennant's *Tours in Wales*, ii. 207.)

niggard hand. The Cistercians, or the White Friars, so called from the colour of their dress, lived on the alms of the public and avoided all display of dress, and their pious poverty won admiration. Gradually, however, their settlements assumed a marked improvement, and the rich pastures became well stocked with good cattle. The land thus reclaimed the monks, mostly laymen, let out to tenants, and so gained a footing in the neighbourhood as landlords; and when they acquired riches, they employed poor secular priests, with whom they dealt thriftily, to perform vicariously the spiritual duties of such parochial churches as had been appropriated to their own abbey—hence the term “Vicar”—a parochial clergyman doing duty for another, and not in receipt of the whole of the income of the cure. Though the vows of the Cistercians hardly allowed them to have any possessions, they were not hindered from building stately houses, on which they lavished the large sums which the munificence of their benefactors poured into their coffers,—houses in which it became the ambition of the great to rest their bones, in “hope of the Resurrection to eternal life.” The Abbey of Strata Florida, containing the dust of many generations of princes, clergy, and bards, became to Wales what Westminster is to England,—the consecrated place of entombment of all the best and bravest. The Abbey, in every district, was to the living a cherished house of rest in the pilgrimage of life; and the sound of the vesper bell, as the sun set beyond the dusky eminences of the distant hills, was to the wayfarer a welcome summons from afar off, to shelter under the hospitable roof of the abbey. So sang the Welsh poet¹ in his lines on Tintern Abbey;

1 Rev. J. Blackwell, Rector of Manordeifi.



" Pa sawl bron a oerodd yma ?
 Pa sawl llygad ga'dd ei gloi ?
 Pa sawl un sydd yn y gladdfa
 A'r cof ohonynt wedi ffoi ?
 Pa sawl gwaith, ar wawr a gosper,¹
 Swnia'r gloch ar hyd y glyn ?
 Pa sawl Ave, cred a phader ?
 Dd'wedwyd rhwng y muriau hyn?"

1. " Gwawr a Gosper "—Matins and Evensong, the terms for which in Welsh Book of Common Prayer are " Plygain and Gosper." " Plygain " from *pulli-cantus*, probably, plu-ganu, or the cock crowing. " Gosper,"

There are, indeed, few spots in Wales which awaken deeper feelings of solemn interest than the ruins of its old abbies and monasteries. Once upon a time, within those ruined walls, around which the storied ivy now clusters thickly, the orisons of the recluses, worshipping in the beauty of holiness, ascended up on high; but now, alas! "the owl and the raven dwell therein, and stretched out upon them is the line of confusion and the stones of emptiness: the thorns come up in their palaces, nettles and brambles in the fortresses thereof."² A scene of beauty and desolation truthfully described by the Welsh poet:—

" Ar y garreg sydd gyferbyn,
A faluriwyd gan yr hin,
Tybiaf wel'd, o flaen ei elyn,
Ryw bererin ar ei lin :
Tybiaf fod y mwg o'r thuser
Eto'n codi'n golofn wen,
A bod sw'n yr organ seinber
Eto yn dadseirio'r nen,"

Linellau ar Abad-dy Tintern (ALUN).

The religious influence of the Cistercians had become so strong in Wales by the year 1155, that they were able to effect a change in the custom of dedicating churches. It was a rule of the Order that their religious houses should be dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. *Brut y Tywysogion* thus notifies the change in the custom: "Ni bu bell wedy hynny yn y gyssegrwyt Eglwys Vair Ymeiuot." "It was not long after that before the Church of S. Mary was consecrated at Meifod." Although a considerable number of churches in Wales now bear the name of the Blessed Virgin—under the parochial name of Llanfair—it can be proved that nearly one half of them had Welsh Saints for their original founders, as in the case of the parish Church of Meifod referred to in the *Brut*, changed from the name of the

from the Latin "Vesper." This is the colloquial term in Welsh for the Evening Service.

2, Isaiah xxxiv, 11, 12, 13,

native saint, S. Tysilio, to S. Mary. The name of the Blessed Virgin was either added to, or substituted for, that of the native saint wherever the Cistercians had influence. The number of parishes in Wales bearing the name of Llanfair, is not a full index to the number of parish churches dedicated in the name of the Blessed Virgin. The parishes of Dolgelley and Conway, which were under the influence of the Cistercians of Cymmer and Aberconway, are cases in point where the parish churches are dedicated to S. Mary.

The simplicity, zeal, purity and self-denial of the founders of the monastic system gave way, before the "pomps and vanities of this wicked world and the sinful lusts of the flesh," and their vows of voluntary poverty only led, in many cases, to jesuitical expedients for evading them—a straining at gnats and swallowing of camels: for where the heart is prepared for evil, opportunity is seldom wanting. As in the case of individuals, so also in the history of the Mendicant Orders, experience teaches that it is easier to support adversity than prosperity, and that fortune is more treacherous and dangerous when she caresses than when she dismays. Giraldus complains of the avarice and love of luxury which marked the Cistercians of Wales in his time. Speaking of his visit to Llanbadarnfawr, he says: "Be it observed that this church, like many others in Wales and Ireland, has a layman as an abbot. There is a custom, and it is a bad one, which has grown up of placing the monasteries and churches under the patronage of powerful noblemen for the sake of their defence; but slowly these use their opportunity to appropriate to themselves the wealth, and place their sons and acquaintances in offices as priests therein."

"The evil that men do lives after them,
The good is oft interred with their bones,"

is a truism not inapplicable to the history of the monastic

fraternity. Posterity is often unmindful of its obligations to the monks of old ; for light shone from the monastic cells during many a dark period, and the ruins which have escaped the pitiless ravages of the elements, to tell the tale of their former influence and grandeur, were at one time towers of strength against tyranny, oppression, and wrong ; asylums to alleviate suffering of every kind, hospitals for the sick and dying, libraries containing valuable manuscripts and documents of various kinds. The monks themselves cultivated learning with great success, were professors at the universities ; physicians, historians, searchers out of manuscripts. As regards Welsh history, most of the chronicles of the history of Wales were written within the walls of Strata Florida Abbey. And it is to the monks that we are indebted for manuscript copies of the Bible, for they were multipliers of copies, as well as inventors of the art of printing ; architects, builders, painters, musicians, farmers, cooks : in a word, the monasteries were, in their palmy days, centres of all the arts which the development of civilization brings in its train ; and the religious feeling of the time made them, by constant endowment and gift of treasure, centres also of enormous wealth.

The Religious Orders in Wales consisted chiefly of Benedictines, Cistercians, and Dominicans. Unlike the Benedictines, who espoused the cause of the Norman or English party in Wales, the Cistercians identified themselves from the first with the Welsh princes and the national cause. It was within the walls of the Abbey of Strata Florida that Llewelyn the Great met the Welsh princes in council of war, to resist the campaign of Edward I. against the Welsh.

The following list of Welsh medieval monasteries is taken from *Dugdale's Monasticon*, and Cotton MSS. The older

monasteries of the Ancient British Church, such as Bardsey, Clynnog Fawr, and Penmon in Anglesey—for a list of which see page 100, and the map on page 77—were of a different order. But during the struggles between the Welsh and the Saxons they became deteriorated, and gradually made way to the Religious Orders of the Middle Ages, who occupied their ground.



THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS OF WALES IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

I.—THE BENEDICTINES.

No.	Monasteries.	County.	Date of Foundation.	Remarks.
1	Penmon, or S. Seiriol's	Anglesey	1221	Founded by Llew. ap Iorwerth. Ruins still existing.
2	Cardigan	Cardigan		
3	Kidwely	Cardmarthen		
4	Brecon	Brecon	1100	
5	Basseleeh, or Bassele	Monmouth		
6	Abergavenny	do.		
7	Monmouth	do.		
8	Usk	do.		
9	Cardiff	Glamorgan		
10	Ewenny	do.		
11	Pembroke	Pembroke		
12	Pilla, or Pile			

II.—CISTERCIANS, OR WHITE FRIARS.

1	Aberconwy	Carnarvon	1185	Founded by Llew. ap Iorwerth, Prince of North Wales. Dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin and All Saints.
2	Clynnog Fawr	Carnarvon	1200	The Church of Clynnog, built in the form of a Cross, is one of the finest structures of the kind in North Wales.
3	Valle Crucis, or Mynachlog y Glyn, near Llangollen	Denbigh	1200	Founded by Madog ap Gruffydd Maelor, Lord of Bromfield. Ruins still existing.

No.	Monasteries	County.	Date of Foundation.	Remarks.
4	Maenan (Transferred from Conway)	Denbigh	1284	Removed from Aberconwy by Edward I.
5	Ruthin	Denbigh	1310	The old Priory, situate in S. Peter's Square, has been converted into shops.
6	Denbigh	Denbigh	1289	Founded by John Salusbury of Lleweni The Church, which stands at the bottom of the town, is now converted into a barn
7	Basingwerk, or Maesglas, near Holywell	Flint	1131	Founded by Randal, second Earl of Chester Fine ruin still existing
8	Cymmer, or Y Vanner near Dolgelly	Merioneth	1198	Founded by the two Princes Meredydd and Gruffydd. Part of ruin still existing.
9	Llanllugan	Montgomery	1237	
10	Ystrat Marchell Pola, Welshpool	do.	1170	Founded by Prince Madog ap Gruffydd Maelor.
11	Llanbadarnfawr	Cardigan		
12	Llanleir, or Llanelere	do.		
13	Strata Florida	do.	1144	"In that year, by the permission of God and the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, came a convent of monks to Strata Florida."— <i>Brut y Tywysog</i> . Ruins still existing.
14	Albalanda, or Whitehouse on the Taf	Carmarthen	1153	Founded by the Bishop of S. David's.
15	CwmHir	Radnor	1114	Founded by Prince Cadwallon ap Madog. Small ruin still existing. Llewelyn, the last Welsh Prince of Wales is supposed to have been buried in this monastery.

No.	Monasteries.	County.	Date of Foundation.	Remarks.
16	Caerleon, or Caeruske	Monmouth	1180	
17	Newham	do.		
18	Tintern		1131	Founded by Walter de Clare.
19	Cardiff	Glamorgan		
20	Margam	do.	1147	Founded by William, Earl of Gloucester.
21	Neath	do.	1143	
22	Talley	Carmarthen	1197	Founded by Rhese,
23	Stratflur		1168	son of Griffith, Prince of South Wales.

III.—DOMINICANS, OR BLACK FRIARS.

1	Bangor	Carnarvon	1276	Founded by Tudor ap Gronw, Lord of Penmynydd and Tre-castell, Anglesey. Monastery stood on the site of Bangor Friars' Grammar School.
2	Rhuddlan	Flint		Ruins of Priory on Plas Newydd farm.
3	Haverfordwest	Pembroke		

IV.—AUGUSTINS, OR GREY FRIARS.

1	Llanfaes, near Beaumaris	Anglesey	1237	Founded by Llew. ap Iorwerth, Prince of North Wales. Small portion of ruin still existing. "Friars" in the Parish of Llanfaes takes its name from this monastery.
---	--------------------------	----------	------	---

No.	Monasteries.	County.	Date of Foundation.	Remarks.
2	Beddgelert	Carnarvon		This was the most ancient monastery in Wales except Bardsey. Tanner ascribes its foundation to Llewelyn, the last Prince of Wales, but Pennant points out that it must have been earlier than this, there being a recital of a charter for certain lands bestowed on it by Llewelyn the Great who began his reign in 1194.
3	Carmarthen	Carmarthen		
4	Lantony	Monmouth		
5	Cardiff	Glamorgan		
6	Haverfordwest	Pembroke		
7	Newport	do.		

V.—OTHER RELIGIOUS HOUSES.

1	Holyhead, or Caergybi	Anglesey		Monastery of the Ancient British Church, founded about A.D. 386 by S. Cybi.
2	Bardsey	Carnarvon		Monastery of the Ancient British Church, founded by Cadvan A.D. 516.
3	Yspytty	Denbigh		Knight's Hospitalers
4	Clwyd Valley	do.		Monastery.
5	Denbigh	do.		Almshouses.
6	Gwytherin	do.		Nunnery. Supposed to be the burial place of S. Winifred.

No.	Monasteries.	County,	Date of Foundation.	Remarks.
7	Wrexham	Denbigh		College.
8	Llanddewibrefi	Cardigan		Nunnery.
9	Llanrustyd	do.		
10	Llansantffraid	do.		Abbey and Nunery
11	Abergwili	Carmarthen		College.
12	Bachannis	do.		
13	S. Clare	do.		Alien Priory.
14	Llangadoc	do.		
15	Caeruske	Monmouth		
16	Goid Cliffe	do.		Alien Priory.
17	Llangwin	do.		do.
18	Malpas	do.		Chiniac Cell.
19	Newport	do.		
20	Chepstow	do.		Alien Priory.
21	Llancarvan	Glamorgan		
22	Llangenith	do.		Alien Priory.
23	Llantwit	do.		do.
24	Swansea	do.		Hospital.
25	Caldy	Pembroke		Tyrone Cell.
26	S. Dogmael	do.		do.
27	Llawhaden	do.		Priory.
28	Lawardyn	do.		Hospital.
29	Sleback	do.		Knight's Hospitalers
30	Tenby, or Tenby	do.		S. Mary Magdalene's Hospital.
31	Vallis Roscina	do.		Monastery.
32	Ramsey	do.		do.

CHAPTER XX.

A.D. 1188.

PREACHING THE CRUSADES IN WALES. OFFICIAL VISIT OF BALDWIN, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, AS PAPAL LEGATE.

"There was no nation so remote, no people so retired, that did not respond to the papal appeal.¹ It inspired not the continent only, but the most distant and savage islands. The Welshman left his hunting, the Scotch his fellowship with vermin, the Dane his drinking bouts, the Norwegian his raw fish."—MALMSBURY.

†T was on Ash Wednesday, March 2nd, 1188, that Baldwin, in company with Lord Justice Glanville, the most famous lawyer of his time, visited Wales as Papal Legate, to preach the Crusades, which had then become universally popular. Baldwin—spoken of by Giraldus as a man of dark complexion, open and venerable face, moderate height, strong body, inclined to be spare than otherwise—was the first archbishop of Canterbury who officiated in the Welsh Cathedrals: and the establishing of the jurisdiction of Canterbury in Wales was no doubt present to his mind; but that question was fraught with so many political and racial difficulties, that he dared not assert his authority as metropolitan with impunity; even in asserting his legative authority. Baldwin—spoken of by Giraldus as a man of humble and serious character, and a man of few words, slow to anger, moderate, gentle and affectionate, quick to listen, slow to speak—deemed it prudent to avail himself of the advantage of appearing in the popular garb of a Crusader. The solemn procession, headed by the Archbishop of

1, i.e., in behalf of the Crusades.

Canterbury riding in full armour, with the white cross¹ on his breast, produced a deep impression on the Welsh people, and the Crusaders were received with awful reverence by Welsh princes and Norman barons. Speaking of an incident which happened at Llanfair, near Harlech, Giraldus says: "On the morrow, Meredydd, the youngest son of Cynan, met us as we crossed a bridge, followed by his people, where several persons were signed with the sign of the cross, among whom was a handsome young man of his escort, and one of his bosom friends. Meredydd, observing that the mantle on which the cross was to be sewn, was of too thin and common a material, threw down to him his own mantle, amidst a flood of tears." To make his passage through Wales with greater safety, Baldwin wisely secured as his companion the eminent Welshman, Giraldus Cambrensis. "The sages of the Church and the law were under the guidance of a young man, tall, slender in figure, with delicate features, and a fine complexion, overshadowed by large wide eyebrows; a man of learning and a wit, but self sufficient, conceited, and an intolerable egotist."² It was under the guidance of this young Welshman that the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the first time in the history of the Church of the Cymry, said Mass³ at the High Altar in all the Welsh Cathedrals.

1. The original symbol of the Crusade was a red cross; but the different nationalities were afterwards distinguished by various colours. The English badge was a white cross.

2. Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, ii. 561.

3. Giraldus, in his '*Gemma Ecclesiastica*,' gives the now accepted etymology of the term Mass. "It is derived from the words used in dismissing the congregation: '*Ite, missa est*,'" "Go, the sacrifice has been sent to heaven." The Welsh term, however, for Mass is "*offeren*," which means a "*sacrifice*." The Welsh word for priest is "*offeiriad*," or one who offers. Both words are of kindred origin. The word Mass is not used by any Welsh critic, ancient or modern; but the term "*offeren Sul*" (Sunday Mass); "*pryd offeren*" (time of Mass); and "*gwrndaw offeren*" (hearing Mass) are common expressions.

The zeal displayed by Giraldus in the cause of the Holy War was such, that numbers of his countrymen, especially in Cardiganshire and Haverfordwest, rallied round the standard of the Cross. He moved them all to tears, although the Archbishop had been preaching for hours with no result. "Good Lord," said Baldwin, "what a hard-hearted people these are." We have this on the authority of Giraldus himself, but he has not left us any specimen of the oratory which he testifies produced such wonderful effects. Gerald says that he explained to the Welsh peasantry the discourses of the Archbishop. But his knowledge of Welsh was too superficial to produce any impression on a Welsh audience. His father being a Norman, and he himself having been educated abroad, his practical knowledge of his native language was insufficient to enable him to address his countrymen with power and effect. This may be inferred from the fact mentioned by Gerald himself that Seisyllt, Abbot of Strata Florida, and Alexander, Archdeacon of Bangor, acted as interpreters also. John Sprang, Prince Rhys' fool, said to his master at Aberteivi, after Gerald had been preaching during the Itinerary, "You owe a great debt O Rhys, to your kinsman, the Archdeacon, who has taken a hundred or so of your men to serve the Lord : for if he had only spoken in Welsh, you would not have had a soul left."¹

Starting from Hereford, the party came to Radnor, and crossing the Wye at Hay they reached Llanddew, where they halted, and were entertained at the mansion situate here belonging to the see of S. David's, and which was occupied by Giraldus. Continuing their journey by Talgarth, across the hill to Abergavenny and Newport, and passing through Llandaff and Ewenny, they reached Morgam Abbey ; from thence over the Neath, to Swansea, and

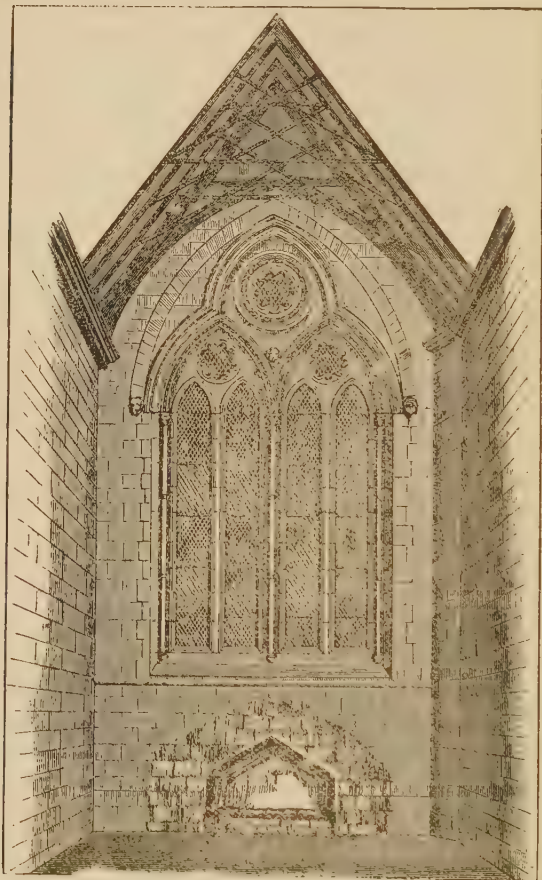
1. De Rebus ii. 19.

by Kidwelly, crossing the Towy in boats to Caermarthen. Proceeding from Caermarthen by Whitland, or Alba Landa, and Llawhaden to Haverfordwest, they reached S. David's, from thence they came to S. Dogmael's, where they were entertained by Prince Rhys at Cardigan Castle, afterwards proceeding to Strata Florida Abbey and Llanbadarnfawr. Crossing the Dovey, they came to Bangor diocese, following the line of the coast by Tygwyn, Llanfair-Ardudwy (close to Harlech), then across to Nevin. Keeping to the coast, they reached Caernarvon and Bangor. Crossing the Menai Straits at Porthaethwy, (now known as Menai Bridge), they came to Anglesea,—the furthest point they reached in that direction. Here the Archbishop preached the Crusades, "and many persons," continues Gerald, "were inclined to take the cross owing to the effective preaching of the Archbishop, and Alexander, our interpreter, Archdeacon¹ of that place (i.e. Bangor), and Seisyllt, Abbot of Strata Florida. There were many chosen young men sitting on a rock opposite them, but it was impossible to get one of them to take the Cross, although the Archbishop, by an address specially directed to them, most earnestly exhorted them to do so."

"On our return to Bangor from Mona," writes Gerald, "we were shown the tombs of Prince Owain and his younger brother, Cadwaladr, who were buried in the Cathedral in a double vault, before the high altar, although Owain on account of his public incest with his cousin-german, had died excommunicated by the blessed martyr S. Thomas; and the Bishop of that see had been directed to seize an

1 The stone on which the Archdeacon stood to interpret the Archbishop's discourse is still pointed out in the cutskirts of Menai Bridge, and is known as "Carreg Iagon," a corruption of "Carreg yr Archddiacon," or the Archdeacon's stone, from the tradition that the Archdeacon stood on it on this occasion.

opportunity of removing his body from the church." Giraldus, however, bears testimony to the humanity of Owain, who spared the churches of his enemies, while they destroyed



Tomb of Prince Owain Gwynedd.

those of his countrymen ; and the *Brut* speaks of him as having died in peace and piety, " having performed penance and confession, and communion of the blood of Christ and

extreme unction." Baldwin was probably prompted to this action by a feeling of hostility towards the dead Prince, for the resistance he had successfully made to the establishing of the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury in Bangor diocese, in the time of Becket¹.

Continuing their journey from Bangor, Baldwin and Giraldus crossed the Conway into S. Asaph diocese, to Rhuddlan and S. Asaph. When they reached the poor little city of S. Asaph ("panpercula sedes Lanelvensis") the Archbishop celebrated Mass "in pontificalibus," as it had never before been seen there. In their journey through Oswestry the Archbishop excommunicated Owain Cyfeiliog, "because," says Gerald, "he alone amongst the Welsh princes did not come to meet the Archbishop with his people." Notwithstanding this, Gerald testifies that this Welsh prince was distinguished for "justice, wisdom, and moderation." We find a justification of Owain's action indirectly, in the Petition presented by Gerald, on behalf of the Welsh princes, to Pope Innocent iii. A.D. 1203, having reference more directly to the sees of S. David's and Llandaff, and complaining that since the forced subjection of the Welsh Church to the English Crown, bishops had been thrust upon them entirely ignorant of the Welsh language, and therefore unable, except by deputy, to preach and hear confessions. The Petition also contained a complaint

1 A Hengwrt MS. states that, fearing to excite the people by violating the grave of one of their favourite princes, an underground passage was made privately into unblessed ground, and the remains of Owain so thrust out. This was 19 years after his death. His coffin is still pointed out in the wall, beneath a sepulchral arch under the south transept window of Bangor Cathedral (see illustration). Its lid is adorned with a flowery cross, cut in relief, and extending the full length of the coffin. Within the arch, and the wall above the coffin, is a very old and mutilated stone crucifix. During the last restoration of the cathedral (1867-72), the coffin was opened and was found to contain some bones, and a round receptacle for the head.

that the Church in Wales was despoiled of her property, by sale and alienation, and the transference of the revenues to England, where the King gave bishops abbeys and land, whence they excommunicated the Welsh at his bidding—more especially during the time of war, when Wales and the Welsh were at once laid under an interdict, so that every Welshman who fell in battle in defence of his country and its liberties, fell under the ban of the church¹.

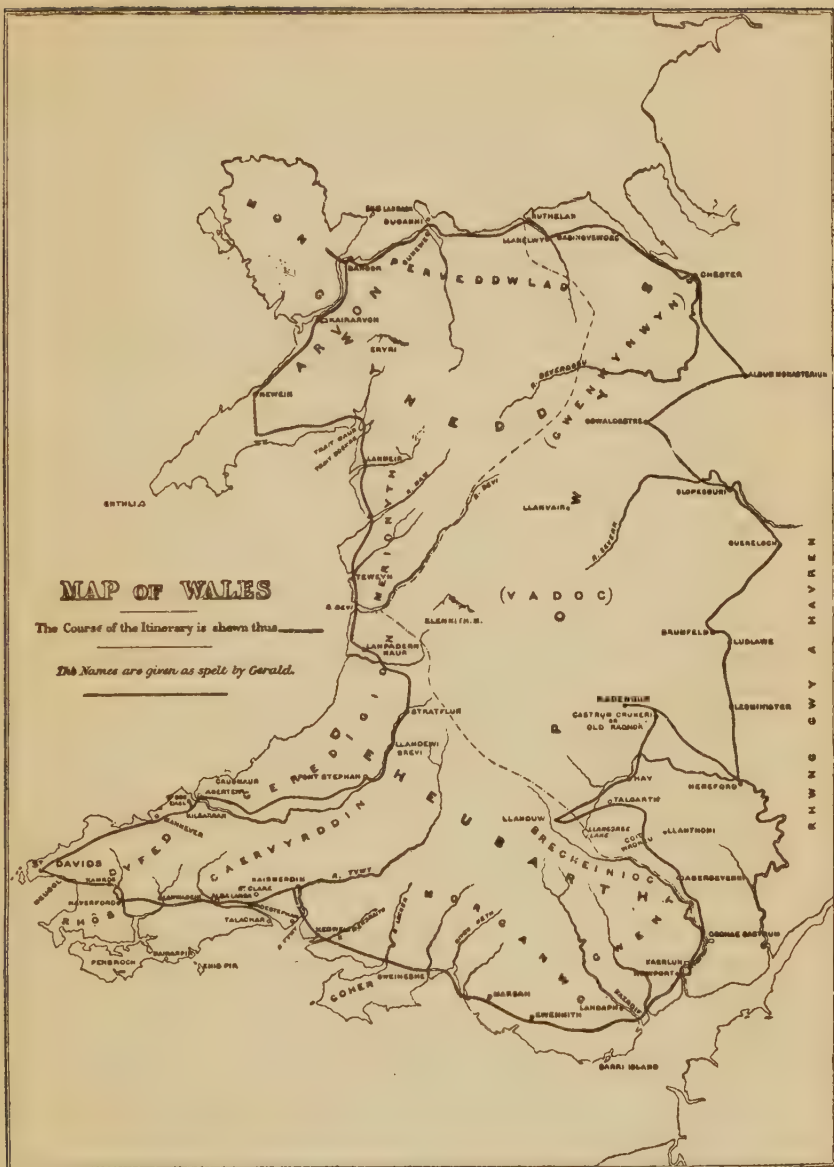
1. Councils, &c., i. 431.



MAP OF WALES

The Course of the Itinerary is shown thus

The Names are given as spell by Gerald.



CHAPTER XXI.

A.D. 1146—1223.

GERALD THE WELSHMAN.

"The fame of Giraldus, notwithstanding his personal vanity,¹ pedantic affectation of learning, and a tasteless and obscure style of writing, whether we regard him as a man or as an author, must always be classified among the leading ecclesiastics of the Church in Wales during the Middle Ages."

CAMBRIAN PLUTARCH.

GERALDUS de Barri, Giraldus Cambrensis, or Gerald the Welshman, was born in the year 1146, at Maenor Pyr near Tenby, Pembrokeshire, and was contemporary of Henry II., Richard I., John, Henry III., Kings of England; Dafydd ab Owain and Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, Princes of Wales, with all of whom he was personally acquainted. His father, William de Barri, was a Norman; and his mother, Angharad, the daughter of Gerald de Windsor, and of the famous Nesta, was descended from the Welsh Princes of South Wales. Gerald exhibited in his character the virtues and the vices of both Norman and Welshman. Freeman observes that he was born at the time when the Norman and the Saxon had practically blended one in the other, and when the Welsh element was rapidly making its influence felt on the Norman barons.

His early education was entrusted to his uncle, David, Bishop of S. David's, to whom he was sent, and he was trained at S. David's by regular tutors. From there he went to the University of Paris, at that time the great centre of learning, and his progress there was so rapid that before

1. Gerald, on his own testimony, was "tall, and remarkable for beauty of face, as for elegance of figure." He further tells us that on one occasion when on a visit to Baldwin, then Bishop of Worcester, one of the company sitting opposite Giraldus at table, was so struck with his beauty that he exclaimed, "Do you think it possible so handsome a youth can ever die"?

his departure he delivered a course of lectures on theology and rhetoric which, he tells us, were honoured with the general applause of the University. Freeman speaks of Gerald as the "universal scholar." Returning to Wales in 1172, he took Orders, and was soon preferred to a canonry in Hereford, and to the rectory of Chesterton, Oxfordshire, but his preference for his native Wales led him to choose it as his permanent home. Discovering some abuses in the Diocese of S. David's in connection with the payment of tithes, he at once brought the matter before the Archbishop of Canterbury, who appointed him his commissioner to effect the necessary reforms. He endeavoured at the same time to enforce the enactments of Hildebrand as to the celibacy of the clergy, for marriage was common enough then even among the dignitaries of the Welsh Church. Jordan, Archdeacon of Brecon, clung to his wife in spite of all, and lost his archdeaconry in consequence, which was conferred on Gerald by his uncle, the Bishop of S. David's. This was in 1175, and in the following year he asserted the rights of the see of S. David's, during the vacancy, in opposition to the claims of the see of S. Asaph.¹ The occasion was the re-dedication of the Parish Church of Kerry, which being in the lordship of Montgomery, Adam, Bishop of S. Asaph, was invited by Einion Glyd and Caswallon, the local princes, and some of the clergy, to dedicate the church. Proceeding to comply with the

1. "The district in dispute, which included the southern part of Montgomery and a large part of Radnorshire, was part of Powys Wenwynwyn, and probably enough had originally belonged to a North Wales bishopric. The claim of S. Asaph however appears to have extended on this occasion into the deanery of Arwystle, near the source of Wye and Severn; now an insulated part of Bangor Diocese, but of which certainly one district (unless the locality designates the man and not the church) appears elsewhere in Giraldus. Even Giraldus in his claim specifies only three hundred years prescription, which scarcely runs back to the time of the see of Llanbadarn."—*Councils* i. 384. (Note). Kerry is now in the diocese of S. Asaph, but the benefice is in the gift of the Bishop of S. David's.

request, the bishop was confronted by Gerald, to assert the rights of the see of S. David's. Arriving at Kerry, possessing himself of the church keys, notwithstanding that the incumbent, who favoured the claims of S. Asaph, had hidden them, he entered the church and celebrated Mass therein. Upon this the Bishop of S. Asaph made his appearance; and dismounting his horse, put on his mitre, walked up, pastoral staff in hand, to the church door, which was opened; and, to his surprise, is met by a procession of surpliced clergy, with lighted candles, headed by a cross-bearer; the Archdeacon threatens the Bishop with excommunication in return for any threats on his part. Unwilling to excommunicate an old school-fellow—for they were at Paris University together—the Bishop directed his fulminations against the enemies of S. Asaph, and the Archdeacon his against those of S. David. Hereupon Gerald ordered the church bells to be rung in triplets, the sound of which, as part of the rite of excommunication, was hateful to Welshmen. Dismayed, the Bishop retreated with his party, leaving the Archdeacon master of the situation. The Chapter of S. David's on this occasion elected Gerald as Bishop, an honour which he is said to have declined; but the Chapter persisting in the nomination, the case, by command of the King, was referred to the Archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans, who declared in favour of the election. The King however refused to confirm it, alleging, in the presence of a distinguished assembly of prelates, "that it was not expedient nor necessary to elect too upright or active a man to the vacant see of S. David's, as such a choice might prove detrimental to the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, or even the crown of England; that the acknowledged integrity and talents of Gerald, together with his noble birth, might have an injurious effect on the newly effected supremacy of England in the ecclesiastical affairs of Wales." When Gerald heard

it, he exclaimed "that such a public testimony, and before such an audience was more honourable to him than the best bishopric." Notwithstanding the King's opposition, the Chapter still persisted in the nomination; whereupon they were summoned to Winchester to meet the King there, who compelled them, in his presence, to elect Peter de Leia, Cluniac Prior of Wenlock—a weak and unknown man, and a mere creature of the King. Thus the strong claims of Gerald, as well as those of the diocese of S. David's to have him, and the best interests of the Church in Wales were laid aside to considerations of policy. There can be no doubt that Gerald's advocacy of the metropolitanship of the see of S. David's was the most disturbing element in the mind of the King, for he dreaded a conflict similar to that in which he had been engaged with Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury—Gerald's ideal man, of whom he frequently speaks as "the martyred S. Thomas of Canterbury." Indeed, the idea of being the Becket of Wales does not appear to have been altogether foreign to Gerald's mind; and though not inferior to Becket in strength of will and force of character, he lacked the worldly wisdom of that extraordinary man in making his way to a mitre.

Soon after this, in 1177, Gerald retired to his old University of Paris, where the Professorship of Canon Law was offered him, which he declined. Returning to Wales in 1180, he found the diocese of S. David's in the utmost confusion. Peter de Leia had been expelled by the Welsh, for they strongly resented his appointment to the see, and Prince Rhys of South Wales had personally insulted him. Through the influence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Gerald was entrusted with the temporary care of the see, which he succeeded in restoring to order--what its own Bishop could not do. Gerald was in great favour at this time with Henry, who commissioned

him to accompany his son John to Ireland, as secretary and confidential adviser. Giraldus at this time declined the offer of the bishoprics of Ferns and Leiglun, as well as the offer of the Archbishopric of Cashel, assigning as his reason that the Irish people more than the Welsh, would never be satisfied with a bishop except one born among them. In Lent, 1186, he delivered an oration before a synod convened by the Archbishop of Dublin, in which he inveighed in bold language against the immoral lives of the Irish clergy.

Archbishop Baldwin, in 1189, in recognition of the services rendered the Crusade in his journey with him through Wales, recommended Giraldus to the notice of Henry as worthy of a bishopric. The King offered him a confidential post in the retinue which he was about to take with him to France, which was accepted. Giraldus was obliged to return soon owing to the King's death; and was well received by the new king, Richard I, who, on his departure to the Holy War, appointed Gerald his legate in Wales, as well as a coadjutor in the general regency of the kingdom with William de Longchamp, Bishop of Ely. In Wales Giraldus was particularly successful in quelling the rebellious spirit which had broken out in South Wales on the death of Henry. About this time he is said to have refused the successive offers of the bishoprics of Bangor¹ and Llandaff, assigning as his reason, a strong desire to prosecute his studies. The real reason, however, was probably a lingering hope that the see of S. David's might yet fall to his lot,—the object of his life's ambition. In 1198, on the death of Peter de Leia, a vacancy once more occurred, and in the following year the Chapter unanimously elected Gerald to fill the see

1. This was on the death of Guy Rufus. He entertained Baldwin and Giraldus at Bangor on their tour through Wales. He died in 1191. The *Brut* thus refers to it (p. 237) "Guion, Bishop of Bangor died—a man of great piety and honour and merit, and an eclipse of the sun occurred."

once more. But Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, rejected the claim, which was referred to the King, then in Normandy, but he died before giving his decision. It was afterwards referred to King John, who however refused to confirm it. Hereupon Gerald appealed to Pope Innocent III. The fight lasted five years, during which Gerald made three journeys to Rome, to plead his own claims to the see of S. David's, and also to vindicate the privileges of its metropolitanship. The salient points of the pleadings advanced in favour of the latter, appear in his *Historical Memorial to the Pope*, and are: (1) that the Welsh Church was independent of Canterbury up to the time of Henry I.; (2) that the Archbishopric of Caerlleon was transferred to S. David's; (3) that the British Church refused subjection to Augustine,—and Gerald might have added that the British Bishops refused subjection to the Bishop of Rome as well at that time; but it was important in the present need to enlist the support of the Pope against the English King, hence we find Gerald upholding Papal supremacy as a matter of expediency rather than on historic grounds; (4) that his successors at Canterbury did not claim it, neither was it conceded; (5) the advantages to Rome from Welsh Metropolitanship.²

The intense earnestness, unflinching courage, and great hardships endured by Gerald in advocating his cause in person in Rome, won the sympathy and admiration of Innocent III.—the strongest of Popes,—by whom he was well received each time. During one of these journeys to Rome, Gerald was for many days in an open boat on the coast, waiting a chance ship to take him over and was robbed on the way. Crossing the Alps in deep snows, he reached

1. See p. 97.

2. Councils, &c. i. 405.

Rome in the dead of winter. The Pope's decision was however against Gerald ; who, to soothe his disappointment spoke to him consolingly after this manner : " Doubtless, my brother, God has for his own good purpose rescued thee from this stormy life, and has reserved thee for some nobler work."

At the end of the contest Gerald fought almost single handed, and when the Chapter had deserted him he appealed to the laity of Wales, who took up his cause warmly. During his visit to Gwynedd and Powis, he was received with enthusiasm by princes and people. The fight for the see had now become an open rebellion, and Gerald was outlawed as a rebel by King John. The powers being too strong for him, Gerald at last gave way, and consented to the consecration of Geoffrey, prior of Llanthony ; while he himself, after making peace with the King and the Archbishop, retired from public life, and broke his connection with the Chapter of S. David's by resigning the Archdeaconry of Brecon. Speaking of the contest, the Prince of Powis said : " Many and great wars have Welshmen waged with England, but none so great and fierce as his who fought the King and the Archbishop, and withstood the might of the clergy of England for the honour of Wales."¹

Gerald died in the year 1223, aged seventy seven years, and was buried in S. David's Cathedral, which he loved so well, and to sit on the episcopal throne of which was the great ambition of his life, but which was doomed to disappointment. During his retirement, which extended over a period of seventeen years, he found employment and consolation in revising and adding to his literary works, which number nineteen volumes, all in Latin. The following catalogue has been preserved, as drawn up by himself, but

1, "Gerald the Welshman," p. 28.

evidently incomplete. The order in which they appear is probably that in which Gerald wrote them;—1. *Chronographia et Cosmographia Metrica*; 2. *Topographia Hibernica*; 3. *Expugnatio Hiberniae*; 4. *De Legendis Sanctorum*; 5. *Vita Sti. Davidis*; 6. *Vita Sti. Caradoci*; 7. *Vita Sti. Ethelberti*; 8. *Vita Sti. Remigii*; 9. *Vita Sti. Hugonis*; 10. *Liber de Promotionibus et Persecutionibus Gaufredi, Ebor Abpi*; 11. *Symbolum Electorum*; 12. *Liber Invectionum*; 13. *Speculum Duorum Commonitorium et Consolatorium*; 14. *Gemma Ecclesiastica*; 15. *Itinerarium Cambriae*; 16. *Cambriae Topographia*; 17. *De Fidei Fructu, &c.*; 18. *De Principis Instructione*; 19. *De Gestis Giraldi laboriosis*. Besides these Gerald wrote a life of Henry II, the Acts of John, an English Chronicle, the Praises of Wales, and a Metrical Epitome of his Cambrian Topography. The British Museum, Lambeth Palace Library, and the public libraries of Oxford and Cambridge, hold many MSS of his works. Patriotic Welshman as he was, Gerald has left no literary legacy in his mother tongue, and the errors of orthography in Welsh topographical names which disfigure his writings, disclose his scanty knowledge of Welsh. Two or three of his works however bear directly on Welsh history, and are interesting and valuable for the account they give of the religious and social condition of Wales in his time, as well as of the manners and customs of its people. In his *Descriptio Kambriae*, Giraldus tells us that North Wales has the strongest men, and the most fertile soil. Northwalians are expert with the lance, Southwalians with the bow; and that the purest Welsh is spoken in North Wales. Giraldus speaks of the Welsh as a nation of warriors: the higher classes go to battle well mounted, but

1 Cambrian Plutarch.

2. These last two were bishops of Lincoln.

3. Written in Rome, by request of the Pope; and contained probably his invectives against the monks.

the mass of the people on foot, lightly armed with small coats of mail, helmets and shields, with arrows and long lances. They are a pastoral people, living on the produce of their herds, and eating more flesh than corn. They care little for agriculture, and nothing for commerce or shipping. They are frugal ; and go to no expense in food or dress. There is no beggar in the land. Every man keeps an open house ; hospitality is the first of their virtues. The guest on entering gives up his arms, and is welcomed by the washing of his feet, and is entertained by the conversation of the younger women, and by playing on the harp¹ until the simple evening meal, furnished according to the wealth of the family. The Welsh, Giraldus tells us, had no table linen—they sat on rushes or fresh grass, and the guests eat out of the same wooden platter. They eat a thin broad cake of bread² baked every day, sweet herbs and sometimes chopped meat with broth. The host and hostess wait on the company. A large bed of rushes covered with coarse cloth is laid along one side of the room, and they all sociably retire to rest, clothed as they are in their thin cloaks and tunics : when one side gets tired from the hardness of the bed they turn the other, or go and warm themselves at the fire which is kept alight all night. Both men and women kept their heads cropped close : the women's heads being covered with a kind of white turban. Equally both sexes keep their teeth like ivory, by constant rubbing with green hazel. The men shave their beards, but let the moustache grow as they did in Cæsar's time.³

1. In remote country districts the Welsh harp, or *crwth*, may still be found, and is honoured as a relic of the past.

2. Like the oat-cake which is so common in the upland districts of Wales. The *bara-ceirch*, or oat-bread, is baked daily.

3. "Gerald the Welshman" (Owen), p. 70.

Gerald speaks in terms of praise of the antiquity and purity of the faith of the Cymry. The first piece of every loaf was broken for the poor : they ask a blessing of every priest and monk they meet. They pay the great tithe on all their property and cattle ; when they marry, go on a pilgrimage. Two-thirds of the tithe goes to their baptismal church, and one third to the bishop. The churches have the right of sanctuary, often abused, and the right extends to the animals in the churchyard, and sometimes beyond to boundaries fixed by the bishop. "This nation," exclaims Giraldus, "is earnest in all its pursuits ; nowhere will you find worse men than the bad, or better men than the good. Happy and blessed would the people be if they had good pastors and but one prince, and he a good one."¹ Giraldus speaks of the Welsh as parsimonious at home, but immoderate at another man's table. Yet they do not mortgage their property to gorge their stomachs, as men do in England. They buy their wives on trial, and they do not marry until they have just enough ground for believing that the woman who has been chosen to keep house may become the joyful mother of children. They have two sins heinous in the eyes of the Roman ecclesiastic, and common to Britain and to Brittany : they marry within the prohibited degrees, and their benefices are hereditary.²

In his *Gemma Ecclesiastica* Gerald gives, among other things, instructions on various ecclesiastical matters, and complains of certain abuses and superstitions, such as the celebration of Mass over waxen images, to bring down curses upon those represented by them ; the hurrying over a number of gospels by merely reading the opening sentences, and he

1. Gerald the Welshman, p. 75.

2. Gerald the Welshman, 78.

speaks of the efficacy of the sign of the Cross,¹ and throughout this book the Archdeacon gives instructions on matters such as the ornaments of the church, vestments, the confessional, and the banns of marriage, which were published exactly the same as they are now. The priest is to exact no fee for any sacrament, for baptism, marriage,² or burial, but he may accept such offerings as the faithful may give of their own free will.³

Though himself an upholder of the vows of clerical celibacy imposed on the Western Church by Hildebrand, Giraldus admits that it had the sanction of neither the Old nor the New Testament; and quotes a saying that the devil never placed greater mischief into the heads of the rulers of the Church than when he induced them to forbid the marriage of the clergy. On the evils of intemperance in meat and drink Geraldus, though not a total abstainer himself, has a word to say to the Welsh Clergy. He speaks strongly against the Church ales and feastings, common in his time, when men and women were assembled promis-

1. A custom still prevails, and is a very common one among the Welsh peasantry, of making the sign of the Cross on the flour when in sponge—called in Welsh *heblas*—a term said to be derived from the words which the women used to pronounce when so making the sign of the Cross—"Heb ras, heb-les" ("without grace, without good"), hence the term '*heblas*.'

2. In the rubric in the Marriage Service it is directed that the man shall give unto the woman a ring, laying the same upon the book with the accustomed duty to the Priest and Clerk. In the Welsh Prayer Book the word "Clerk" is translated "*Clochydd*"—i.e., bellringer; and the accustomed duty payable to him would seem to be for ringing the bell. This is the only reference in the Welsh Prayer Book to "*Clochydd*," by which is generally understood the Parish Clerk,

3. In North Wales it is still the custom to make offerings at funerals; and in some districts the parish clerk counts the money as it is offered, afterwards announcing the sum total, which is considered the criterion of the amount of respect entertained by those present towards the deceased. The English reader is reminded that Welsh funerals are largely attended by long processions of men and women, who walk up at the close of the service, to make their offerings at the altar rails, or at the chancel steps,

cuosly under the excitements of religious emotion and strong drinks, the evil results of which were too well known. It is sad to read the examples Giraldus gives of the concealed unbelief among the clergy—the priest who ultimately confessed, “Do you suppose that the bread can really become flesh, and this wine blood? Can you think that the Creator of all things took the flesh of a woman, or that a virgin can conceive and still remain a virgin? It is all hypocrisy, the invention of greyhounds, to strike terror into men.” The avarice rampant in the Church, more especially among the higher clergy, Gerald greatly deplored; for the Norman bishops in Wales always promoted the most incapable among their relatives.



CHAPTER XXII.

A.D. 1223 — 1284.

FROM THE DEATH OF GERALD TO THE FALL OF LLEWELYN, THE LAST PRINCE OF WALES.

"Llewelyn, ein Llyw Olaf."

THERE is no period in the history of the Church of the Cymry of deeper interest than that which records the final subjugation of Wales to the English Crown, and the incorporation of the four Welsh sees in the Province of Canterbury.

In the past as well as the present, the characteristic weakness of the Welsh people exhibits itself in the spirit of internal discord, which forms so marked a feature in the ecclesiastical and civil history of Wales. And the period now in question is no exception to the rule. Gerald bewails it, "happy and blessed would this people be," he says, "if only they had good pastors, and but one prince and he a good one." The thrusting by the English Crown of English men into Welsh sees at this period made it impossible to have good pastors, if that term be held to mean among other qualifications, ability to minister to their flocks in the "language understood of the people." These appointments were strongly resisted by the Welsh princes, and the Church in Wales suffered much in consequence of the strife which followed. Thus on the appointment of Robert of Shrewsbury—consecrated at Westminster in 1197, to Bangor,—there was a strong opposition in that diocese simultaneously with a similar strife in the diocese of S.

David's in consequence of the appointment of Peter de Leia. And in 1210, King John, when he visited Bangor, took Robert of Shrewsbury, its Bishop, prisoner from before the altar. The English profited much by the internal dissensions among the Welsh princes,—and a nation divided against itself cannot stand—and had gained considerable territory on the borders of North Wales. Edward, afterwards Edward I of England, is charged with having been the instigator of these encroachments. Not only were the estates of the Welsh nobles seized without the admission of any appeal, but their owners were subjected to the severest punishments on the most trivial pretences. This roused the Welsh princes to united action, and in a spirited remonstrance addressed to Prince Llewelyn, they sought his assistance; resulting in the union of all the forces of Wales under one head—that head being Llewelyn, on whom devolved now the entire sovereignty of Wales. Under date of March 7, 1274, we find a protest sent to Pope Gregory X. by the Welsh Cistercian Abbots of the White House, Strata Florida, Cwmhir, Stratá Marcheth, Aberconway, Cymmer and Valle Crucis,¹ in favour of Llewelyn, and stating that the Bishop of S. Asaph had falsely accused him of wronging monks or monasteries of whatever order. In response to this the Pope wrote to Robert Kilwarby, Archbishop of Canterbury, Aug. 18, 1274, not to excommunicate or interdict Llewelyn and his subjects, if they were willing to appear before the Archbishop's Commissioners in Wales, and the Pope himself by a letter of the same date addressed to Llewelyn, confirms the agreement made by the Bishops of S. Asaph and Bangor between him and his brother David.²

1. Councils &c. i 498.

2. Councils &c, i. 501.

The following Memorial, sent by Llewelyn to the Archbishop of Canterbury, recounts, in the Prince's own words, the differences between him and Edward, and throws some light on the Church history of the period. It is almost verbatim the same with a former memorial, *mutatis mutandis*, sent by the Welsh Prince to Gregory X, and dated Sep, 11, 1275, except that it names the Abbots of Strata Florida and Aberconway as bearers of Llewelyn's letter, and David ap Gruffydd and Gruffydd ap Gwenwynwyn as Llewelyn's fugitives.

The translation reads: "A.D. 1275, October 6, Talybont. 'To the most Reverend Fathers in God, Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Metropolitan of all England, the Archbishop of York, and the rest of the Bishops of Convocation: Llewelyn, Prince of Wales and Lord of Snowdon, sendeth greeting: 'We would have your Lordships understand, that whereas formerly most terrible and incessant wars were continually managed betwixt Henry King of England and ourself; the same were at last composed, and all matters of differences were adjusted by means of his Excellency Cardinal Ottobonus, the Pope's Legate, who having drawn the articles and conditions of the peace agreed upon, they were signed and sworn to, not only by the King, but also the Prince his son, now King of England. Among these articles were comprehended, that we and our successors should hold of the King and his successors, the Principality of Wales, so that all the Welsh lords, one Baron excepted, should hold their baronies and estates in capite of us, and should pay their homage and fealty for the same to us; we in like manner doing homage to the King of England and his successors. And besides that the King and his successors should never offer to receive and entertain any of our enemies, nor any such of our subjects as were lawfully banished and excluded our dominions of

Wales, nor by any means defend and uphold against us. Contrary to which King Edward has forcibly seized upon the estates of certain Barons of Wales, of which they and their ancestors have been immediately possessed, and detains a barony which by the form of peace should be delivered to us; and moreover, has hitherto entertained David ap Gruffydd our brother, and Gruffydd ap Gwenwynwyn, with several other of our enemies, who are outlaws and fugitives of our country. And though we have often exhibited our grievances and complaints against them, for destroying and pillaging our country, yet we could never obtain of the King any relief or redress for the several wrongs and injuries we received at their hands; but on the contrary, they still persist to commit wastes and other outrages in our dominions. And for all this, he summonses us to do him homage at a place which is altogether dangerous to our person, where our inveterate enemies, and which is worse, our own unnatural subjects, bear the greatest sway and respect with the King. And though we have alleged several reasons to the King and his council, why the place by him assigned is not safe and indifferent to us to come, and desire him to appoint another, whereto we might with more safety resort, or else that he would send commissioners to receive our oath and homage, till he could more opportunely receive them in person; yet he would not assent to our just and reasonable request, nor be satisfied with the reasons we exhibited for our non-appearance. Therefore we desire your Lordships earnestly to weigh the dismal effects that will happen to the subjects both of England and Wales upon the breach of the articles of peace, and that you will be pleased to inform the King of the sad consequence of another war which can be no way prevented, but by using us according to the conditions of the former Peace, which, for our part, we will in no measure transgress.

But if the King will not hearken to your counsel, we hope that you will hold us excused, if the nation be disquieted and troubled thereupon, which as much as in us lieth we endeavour to prevent."

This dignified and forcible letter had the effect of the King repairing to Chester, and Llewelyn was summoned to do homage at Shrewsbury, which he refused to do. As a last resort, the Archbishop of Canterbury, with others, desired that Edward would offer another opportunity to Llewelyn to do homage, which was granted; and the Archdeacon of Canterbury was sent to Wales for that purpose. But he failed to induce Llewelyn to appear in the English court. In the meantime, between the Archdeacon's return and the making of his report to Parliament on 13th October, 1276, Llewelyn wrote to the King signifying his willingness to go to Montgomery or Oswestry to do homage, on condition (1) that a safe conduct was secured to him under the sanction of the Archbishop and Archdeacon of Canterbury, the Bishop of Winchester, and five English lords; (2) that the Articles of Peace agreed upon between Henry III. and himself be confirmed; (3) that he should deliver to his hands Eleanor de Montford, whom Llewelyn was about to marry.

These conditions roused the indignation of Edward, who on the 12th November, 1276, declared war against the Welsh Prince. An apparent, but short lived reconciliation was effected through the good offices of Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury. Peckham was no enemy of the Welsh, nor friend of Edward; and at first he tried honestly to befriend Llewelyn, but the King was too strong for him, and he was forced to abandon the Welsh Prince. The Archbishop endeavoured to play the part of his renowned predecessor Becket in State affairs, but he was too feeble in action to fill so big a part in opposition to so strong a man

as Edward. On March 28th, 1282, Peckham, by command of the King, excommunicated Llewelyn; and on April 1st following, sent notification thereof to all his suffragans. On June 6th in the same year the Archbishop writes to Anian, Bishop of S. Asaph not to excommunicate too hastily the English who had burnt S. Asaph Cathedral; and on October 21st following, Anian is cited before the Archbishop for not promulgating the sentence against the Welsh rebels. If this inaction on the part of the Bishop was not due to his sense of its injustice, it may be attributed to the fact that the sentence of excommunication lacked papal sanction. The Pope had, as we have seen, directed Peckham's immediate predecessor not to excommunicate Llewelyn. This action of the Pope was no doubt due to the influence of the Welsh Cistercians, who were, to a man, on the side of the Welsh Prince. Being a body irresponsible to both King and bishop, and amenable only to the Pope, the members took an independent line of action, and were the Pope's right hand men. "The fearful abuse of spiritual powers and the exceeding wordliness of the Church, exhibited in all the relations of England to Wales during this period, and especially in the monstrous wickedness with which excommunications were scattered about at random, while the darker shades of the picture are relieved by the unselfish charity and piety, however oddly expressed, of such as Archbishop Peckham." 1

Notwithstanding Peckham's amicable intentions towards Llewelyn, his policy was to magnify his own office. The "Considerations," dated 11th November, 1282, which he laid before Llewelyn, are a curious mixture of advice and menace; urging him at one time to a declaration

1. Councils i., (Preface) xix.

of his grievances ; at another, threatening him with all the spiritual and temporal penalties in the event of his refusing to submit. Llewelyn's reply, dated "Garth Celyn, Aber, near Bangor, November 11th, 1282," which is marked by a manliness and dignity of tone, points out the injurious disregard of the treaty by Edward, and expresses his own earnest desire for the preservation of peace, with honour to himself and his people ; at the same time offering satisfaction for all wrongs committed by the Welsh, provided a corresponding guarantee were given by the English King. Among the wrongs committed by Edward, Llewelyn points out the murder of religious persons in Wales, and the ruthless destruction of monasteries. This was a punishment inflicted on the Welsh monks by Edward for their fidelity to the cause of their Prince. Edward declared at last that he would be satisfied with nothing less than an unconditional surrender on the part of Llewelyn. This brought their differences to a final issue. The struggle ended with the death of Llewelyn, near Bualt, or Builth, Radnorshire, where he had retired to a neighbouring wood, in expectation of meeting some of his chieftains by arrangement. The wood was suddenly surrounded by a body of English horse. Preceiving his danger, Llewelyn attempted to rejoin his forces. A private soldier in the English army, Adam de Francton by name, plunged his spear into Llewelyn's body. Though mortally wounded, the Prince lived a short time, and had sufficient strength left, as the blood trickled from the fatal wound, to ask for the last consolations of religion, a request granted by the ministrations of one of the monks of the neighbouring abbey of Cwmhir. Llewelyn's assailant returning to the spot, began to plunder the bleeding corpse, when he discovered, by the papers found on it, that his victim was no other than Prince Llewelyn. Jubilant at the triumph, he cut off its head, and sent it to Edward, then at

Conway. So died¹ "Llewelyn, ein Llyw olaf," on the 10th December, 1282, after a reign of 28 years.

Edward is said to have received Llewelyn's head with great joy; and, in his exultation over the fall of a prince equally as brave as himself, appears to have lost all feelings of humanity. The King sent Llewelyn's head to London, where it was exhibited, with barbarous cruelty, over one of the gates of the city, decorated with a silver wreath to typify the crown which, according to Merlin's prediction, the Welsh prince was to have worn. The head was afterwards carried through the streets of London, and ultimately placed on the tower of London.

The Archbishop at first with-held probably, at the investigation of the King, his sanction to the Christian burial of Llewelyn's headless remains, a privilege which he afterwards granted on hearing of his devotional state of mind in the hour of death. But Llewelyn was not devoid of religious feeling in the 'time of wealth,' as well as in the 'time of tribulation,' judging from the devotional relics which he possessed. Edward, in 1283, granted a privilege to the finders of the fragment of the true Cross belonging to Llewelyn and his brother David, for sending it to the King.

The exact spot where Llewelyn was buried is not known with certainty. He is supposed by some writers to have been buried in the Parish of Llanganten, near Bualt, at a place which still retains by its name a record of the event: i.e., Cwm Llewelyn, or the Valley of Llewelyn, in which is

1. At the end of Peckam's record of his negotiations with Llewelyn, is a memorandum of his unexpected death in battle, near Bualt (in partibus Montis Gomerici," according to Peckam,) "die Veneris proximo ante festum S. Luc, videlicet 3 id. Decembr. sub anno Domini 1282." Sc. Dec. 11th which agrees with the Ann. Camb. Peckham was at Hereford Dec. 10th. Councils i., 548. (Note.)

2. Councils, &c., i., 549.

also a spot called Cefn y bedd, or Cefn Bedd Llewelyn, or the Back of Llewelyn's Grave. Florence of Worcester, however, maintains that Llewelyn was buried in the Abbey Church of Cwm Hir, near the spot where he fell.¹ This statement is in entire accordance with the connection of his family with the Abbey of Cwm Hir, as appears in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, and with Llewelyn's own friendly relations with the Cistercian Order, and with the correspondence regarding his death and burial in Rymer, and in Haddan and Stubb's Councils.

So perished Llewelyn the Great, the last native Welsh Prince of Wales, and with him the political independence of Wales.

"Thou hast laid low the warrior's head,
The minstrel's chainless hand;
Dreamer! that numbered with the dead
The burning spirit of the mountain land.

No! by our wrongs, and by our blood!
We leave it pure and free;
Though hushed awhile, that sounding flood
Shall roll in joy through ages yet to be.

We leave it 'midst our country's woe—
The birthright of her breast;
We leave it as we leave the snow,
Bright and eternal on Eryri's² crest.'

MRS. HEMANS.³

1. There is a movement now on foot to raise a national memorial to Llewelyn, on the spot where he fell or was buried, Carnedd Llewelyn, "Llewelyn's Heap," and Carnedd Ddafydd, "David's Heap," two high mountains in Carnarvonshire, perpetuate the names of the two brothers.

2. Eryri, Welsh name for the Snowdon range of mountains

3. "The Dying Bard's Prophecy."



CHAPTER XXIII.

A.D. 1283—4.

STATUTE OF RHUDDLAN.

“ Edward I. brought English law to bear upon the subject, *pari passu* with their gradual and attempted Anglicizing of Wales, the commencement of that bane of the Welsh Church, the imposing upon it of a clergy that could not speak Welsh, and the treating of its sees as mere pieces of preferment,—all these are surely subjects which have a living interest, and belong to questions of which the moving forces are active in the present day.”

HADDAN AND STUBBS,¹

THOUGH Wales lost its political independence with the fall of Llewelyn, the Welsh people clung with ardent affection and unswerving tenacity to their native language, national manners, and customs. The Statute of Rhuddlan (A.D. 1283), which annexed the Principality to England, aimed at effacing these national characteristics, by introducing a code of English laws dividing Wales into shires and hundreds, and the issuing of new writs adapted to Welsh manners and tenures². By this Statute the main features of the map of Wales were changed ; for the division of the Principality into shires, with English designations (e.g. Mona was changed into Anglesey) effaced the names and boundaries of the old Welsh principalities.³ The diocesan divisions of

1, Councils &c. i. xix.

2. See Statutum Wallia, published in the Statutes of the Realm, p. 56. From it we learn that the ancient laws of Wales bore very hard on females. No dower was allowed to widows, nor could daughters succeed to the lands of their fathers. On the first of these heads, the King introduced the customs of England, on the second he allowed the lands to be divided as formerly among the sons, but excepted bastards from the division, and determined that in failure of male issue, the inheritance should descend to the females, Ibid 67. He also allowed proof by compurgation in personal actions, but abolished it with respect to theft and other grievous crimes, Ibid 68. See Lingard's History of England, Vol. iii. 197.

3. See page 183 for map of Wales before its division into counties.

Wales however still indicate roughly the old civil boundaries, so that the Church retains unto this day the impressions ancient Welsh history has indelibly made on her organization,—a disproof of the fictitious “alien” cry lately raised against her.

The traditional massacre of the bards, said to have been commanded by Edward because, by their rehearsal of the ancient glories of their forefathers, and their descent from the Ancient Britons, they excited the patriotic feelings of the Welsh, appears to have no foundation in fact. “I know nothing of the massacre of the bards—a fiction to which we owe Gray’s celebrated ode.”¹

Edward promised the Welsh that he would give them a Prince, born in their own country, who had never spoken any other language than theirs. On April 25th, 1284, Edward presented them with his son, Edward II., born at Carnarvon on that day; but there is no evidence to shew in what particular part of the town his birth took place. The small room, 12 feet \times 8, in the Eagle Tower of Carnarvon Castle—the traditional birth place of Edward II., was probably not built at the time of his birth, and the Castle was in course of erection during the rest of the reign of Edward I., which is evident from records still existing, and at his death it was still in an unfinished state. The young Prince was christened by Anian, Bishop of Bangor, for performing which service the King conferred on him and his successors, the ferries of Porthaethwy and Cadnant, the manors of Bangor, Castellmy, and Garth Go Go, Carnarvonshire, and of Cantred and Treffos, Anglesey. Treffos is reputed the capital of the Bishop’s Barony, by virtue of which he is said to claim his seat in Parliament.

1. Lingard’s History of England, iii., 197.

The King and the Archbishop busied themselves much in the ecclesiastical affairs of Wales, as appears in the records in *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*,¹ and, among other things, that the clergy of Rhuddlan and in the Snowdon district, implicated in the Welsh war were to be protected; the issuing of a commission to enquire into plundered and deserted churches in Wales; spoilers of churches in the Welsh war to make reparation. In case of default the King to make them good; enquiry to be made into damage done at the churches by the war, and report to the King, promote peace between Welsh and English; to preserve the ancient liberties of the Welsh Church. Peckham made his official Visitation of the Welsh dioceses, as Archbishop of the Province, in the year 1284. S. Asaph, on May 19th; Bangor, June 25; S. David's, July 10: Llandaff, July 13th. At S. David's, Bishop Beck protested against Peckham's visit, and his protest was the last utterance against the jurisdiction of Canterbury in Wales. Following the example of William the Conqueror and Henry II., Edward I. with Queen Eleanor, made a pilgrimage on Nov. 26th, 1284, to the shrine of S. David in S. David's Cathedral.

A Prohibition of the Ordination of Welshmen was issued about this time (1284?) which possibly may have had the sanction of Peckham.² If this Prohibition really belongs to the period of the Statute of Rhuddlan, there can be no doubt that its object was to deprive Welshmen of the ministrations of religion in their native language, and so enstrange

1. Vol. i. p. 548, 619.

2. *Councils, &c.*, i. 583. Haddan and Stubbs point out the possibility of this Prohibition belonging to the time of Owain Glyndwr and the reign of Henry IV. Archbishop Reynolds in 1322 rejects Irish, Welsh and Scotch clergy, unless upon great necessity, and after special enquiry into the individual case. This policy was at a later period carried out in Ireland. Monstrous as it sounds, the use of the Irish language was prohibited in the services of religion. Public prayers were to be said in English whether understood by the people or not. Where the Irish clergyman was ignorant of English, prayers were to be said in Latin,

them from it. This accords with Peckham's advise to the King. Writing from Newport, on July 8th, 1284, he told Edward that there was no other way of civilizing the Welsh than to make them live together in towns, and send their children to be taught in England.¹ Edward appears to have anticipated this policy suggested by Peckham, so far as the daughters of Llewelyn and David, nuns of Order of Sempringham, were concerned. By mandate, dated at Ludlow, Nov. 11, 1283, they were removed to Alvingham, Lincolnshire. On Sept. 2nd, 1287, the King issued a writ to enquire into their condition and guardianship.

The policy suggested by Peckham had for its main object, the teaching of the English language to the Welsh people, and the effacement of their native language, so as to complete the fusion of the two races. But this was too big an undertaking for King and Archbishop combined. Viewed in the light of history, extending over a period of more than 600 years, from the time of Peckham to the present day, his policy, had it been acted upon, would have proved as ineffectual as subsequent efforts have been to crush out the Welsh language. In those Welsh towns, where the English or Irish elements are not strong, Welsh still continues to be the prevailing language; and in those large English towns such as London, Liverpool, and Manchester, having large Welsh populations, the Welsh language is commonly spoken by thousands. And the same observation is true of America. "In truth," says Freeman,² "I suspect that we do not always take into account how very remarkable a phenomenon in European history the separate existence of the Welsh language really is. Even the modern Principality is no inconsiderable part of the island. If we add on those parts which we reckoned as Welsh within compara-

1. Councils, &c., i. 570.

2. *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, Oct. 1876, p. 328.

tively recent times—Cornwall and Strath-Clyde—it makes a very considerable part of the island indeed. Wales as it is, is a much greater relative part of Britain than Breton-speaking Brittany is of Gaul. The existence of that stubborn British tongue which has survived two Conquests ; the fact that, in spite of the coming of Claudius and the coming of Hengest, an appreciable part¹ of Britain still speaks the tongue of Caradoc and Boadicea, is a fact which has no real parallel in Western Europe."

While every lover of his country must thankfully acknowledge the rapid progress the English language, with its superior literature, is making in Wales, the questions whether the Welsh language and its literature are retreating before the forces of its rival, and the probable duration of the present bilingual difficulty, are problems which, viewed in the light of ancient and modern history must remain for solution in the dim and distant future. Meanwhile, in the words of Matthew Arnold, "to preserve and honour the Welsh language and literature is quite compatible with not thwarting for a single hour the introduction, so undeniably useful, of a knowledge of English among all classes."

1. Mr E. G. Ravenstein, F.R.G.S, in his work on the "Geographical Distribution of the Celtic-speaking population of the British Isles," says that the Welsh language is still spoken by 1,066,100 souls, i.e., by nearly five-sixths of the people of Wales. The present circulation of weekly newspapers in the vernacular is said to exceed 120,000 weekly ; the monthly circulation of magazines, 150,000. One Welsh publisher has issued a single work at a cost of £18000 and profited thereby ; and a Scotch firm has also sold £36 25¹ worth of translations into Welsh. It is estimated that the Welsh reading public expend £200,000 annually on literature published in their native tongue.

CORRIGENDA.

- Page 133, for *confirmed* read *conformed*.
„ 136, for *Wylrshire* read *Wiltshire*.
„ 139, for *Owain* read *Maelgwyn*.
„ „ for *Dinmawr* read *Dinevawr*.
„ 151, for *Kings* read *things*.
„ 162, for *impededed* read *impeded*.
„ 176, for *legative* read *legatine*.
„ 177, for *Morgam* read *Margam*.

CHAPTER XXIV.

A.D. 1284—1485.

FROM THE FALL OF LLEWELYN TO THE ACCESSION OF HENRY TUDOR.

“ All nations have their omens drear,
Their legends wild of woe and fear,
To Cambria look—the peasant see,
Bethink him of Glendowerdy¹
And shun the spirits blasted Tree.²

THE period between the fall of Llewelyn and the accession of Henry Tudor—A.D. 1284—1485—is known in Welsh history as the period of oppression ; when the Welshman for the fourth time felt the iron heel of the conqueror. Edward regarded with disfavour the poetic exercises of the Welsh bards, and which aimed at the hindrance of his power by celebrating the achievements of their ancestors, and their descent from the Ancient Britons. It is not therefore surprising that one of the natural consequences of the conquest of Wales was the discouragement of the national muse. The rich poetic feeling which for ages had been the delight and the pride of Welshmen lost much of its impulse at this time. If the Welsh at any period showed a stronger preference for the Gregorian tones than any other, the more

1. Owain spelt his name “Glendourdw,” The word fully and correctly spelt is “Glyndyfrdwy,” the contracted form of which is “Glyndwr,” and the English of which is, “The Valley of the Dee.” Following the custom of Welsh Princes, from whom he was descended, Owain assumed the title Glyndyfrdwy—the name of his native lordship.

2. The “Blasted Tree,” or “Ceubren yr Ellyll,” into the hollow of which Glyndwr is said to have thrown the corpse of Howell Sele whom he killed, stood in Nannau Park, Dolgelley, till the year 1813, when it was blown down during a storm.

general adoption of its plaintive strains in public worship, at a period when clouds of national disaster cast their gloomy shadows over every hearth, would have harmonized with the feeling of remorse at the loss of political and ecclesiastical independence. Like the Jews of old by the waters of Babylon, the Welsh people sat down and wept when they remembered Zion. The Welsh harp was resumed only to play the national dirge, "*Cyflafan Morfa Rhuddlan*"—the Tragedy of Rhuddlan Marsh—the cadences of which are not unlike those of Gregorian tones, and of that remarkable phenomenon in Welsh preaching known as the *hwyl*, sometimes supposed to be another form of the Gregorian tones grafted into the sermon. The *hwyl* actually sings in a plaintive strain, almost amounting to a wail; the pathetic tones of which, especially if the preacher was endowed with a melodious voice and could modulate it to advantage, touched to the quick the devotional feelings of a people keenly sensitive to the influence of music, that immense audiences have frequently been known to bow to its sway in copious tears and loud sobbings, which produced a mutual feeling of sympathy between preacher and people, and finding expression in loud "amens," and "gogoniant" (glory).

What was the nature of the liturgy of the Church of the Cymry before the Reformation? The following extract from the Preface to the Book of Common Prayer supplies the answer. "And whereas heretofore there hath been great diversity in saying and singing in churches within this realm: some following Salisbury use, some Hereford use, and some the use of Bangor, some of York, some of Lincoln: now from henceforth all the whole realm shall have but one Use." These various "Uses" were, as regards variety, much the same as the various hymnals now in use; and indicate that there was less liturgical uniformity before

than after the Reformation, which gave us the Book of Common Prayer, mainly based on the Use of Salisbury.

In the two southern dioceses of Wales the Use of Hereford was adopted, while in the northern dioceses the Use of Bangor was the one adopted. The Use of Bangor is supposed to be the production of a Diocesan Synod convened by Anian, Bishop of Bangor, to meet at S. Mary's Church, Bangor, on July 14th, 1291. Speaking of a supposed M.S. of the "Use of Bangor" now in the Cathedral Library at Bangor, Haddan and Stubbs say, "it does not appear, judging by Mr. Maskell's notes to his '*Monumenta Eccl. Anglic.*' to differ (speaking generally) from the Sarum family of offices, more than in small variations, not sufficient to constitute it a peculiar use ... Nor has it the slightest claim to any connection with Bangor, but rather (if any Welsh diocese) with S. Asaph." The title of the volume is "*Liber Pontificalis Domini Aniani Bangoriensis Episcopi*," which indicates that it was the property of Anian, Bishop of Bangor, and may have been used by him in his own diocese, though it may not have any claim to be the Use of Bangor. The offices are, of course, all in Latin, and according to the doctrine, rites and ceremonies of the Church of Rome. In the office of Baptism it is interesting to note that trine immersion is expressly enjoined.

With respect to Medieval liturgies a feeling existed that as the church was one and universal, so there should be but one universal tongue in which her prayers should go up to God; and the idea lent a colouring of piety and poetry to the old custom of having Latin liturgies.¹ But some eminent School-men and Roman Catholic divines,—Lyra, Thomas Aquinas, and Harding amongst

1. Browne on xxxix. Articles, 571.

them, have fully granted that in the primitive church prayers were offered up in the vernacular language, for the better edification and instruction of the people, and in harmony with the teaching of S. Paul. "Yet in the church, I had rather speak five words with my understanding, than by my voice I might teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue," (1 Cor. xiv. 19). And our Church lays down the same principle in her xxivth Article of Religion. "It is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the custom of the primitive church, to have public prayer in the church, or to minister the Sacraments in a tongue not understood of the people."

The period of Dafydd ap Gwilym, the Welsh Chaucer, A.D. 1340—1400, marks a new epoch in the history of the Welsh language and its poetry. A deadly feud had for a long time existed between the Welsh clergy and the bards, and found expression in mutual recrimination and abuse. The sarcastic wit of the bard carried with it greater influence over the populace than the more serious denunciations of the clergy; who, being less in touch with the national sentiment, were not on the popular side; and the caustic thrusts of Dafydd ap Gwilym possessed a charm to the public mind. The Grey Friar our bard designated as "Y dyn llygliw," or the "mouse coloured man;" and his propensity to satire provoked the enmity of his contemporaries, more particularly amongst the clergy, against whom his invectives were more directly aimed. The reflection of riper years, however, brought him to a more sober state of mind, and a more conciliatory spirit, as appears from his Poem, "The Bard's confession of his sins," and his "Death-bed Lay,"—a penitentiary poem. wherein he speaks:—

" My shapeless sin with dread I view,
And tremble at the reck'ning due:
I dread my folly's long career,
But, more than *all*, my God I fear."

Ap Gwilym died about the year 1400, and his remains were honoured with a resting place within the limits of the historic Abbey of Ystrad Fflur, under the shadows of an yew tree, to which our bards' friend, Grug, in his elegy to Ap Gwilym, refers in the following lines :

"Yr Ywen i oreu-was
Ger mur Ystrad Fflur, a'i ph'las,
Da Duw wrthyd, gwynfyd gwydd
Dy dyfu yn dŷ Dafydd,
Dafydd, wedi dy dyfu,
A'th wnaeth o'i faboliaeth 'fu."

The geographical extent of country which the name of Owain Glyndwr brings before our thoughts reaches from beyond Corwen to Dolgelley, through which, in the words of Spencer,

"the river Dee, as silver clene
His tomling billows rolls with gentle rore,"

and the Berwyn range, with the rich and fertile meadows form a scenery of charming beauty.

Born at Glyndyfrdwy, Merionethshire, or at Sycharth, Denbighshire, according to popular tradition on May 28th, 1354, Glyndwr was educated in London, called to the Bar, and held a high position as a military officer under Richard II. He was a party to the movement in favour of that King after his dethronement in the revolution which put Henry IV. on the English throne. Shakespeare does Glyndwr no more honour than his life and career, both well worthy of remembrance, deserve when he speaks of him as "not in the roll of common men." Superstition ascribes to his birth those phenomena supposed to mark the birth of eminent men. Hollinshed seriously writes, that "strange wonders happened at the nativity of this man; for the same night that he was born, all his father's horses in the stable were found to stand in blood up to their bellies;" an omen

of the sanguinary career of the infant hero. Neither has Shakespeare omitted to put in permanent form some of the popular traditions connected with Glyndwr's birth, in the well known lines—

“ At my birth
The front of heaven was full of fiery shapes;
The goats ran from the mountains, and the herds
Were strangely clamorous in the frightened fields,
These signs have marked me extraordinary,
And all the courses of my life do show,
I am not in the roll of common men.”

The history of the tragical downfall of one of the unhappiest of English Kings, who found in Glyndwr a devoted and loyal follower, is one of special interest to Welshmen. Arriving at Milford Haven from France, Richard II. found that a great army which had been gathered in Wales for his service had either been disbanded or won over to Henry. Richard disguised himself as a poor Franciscan friar, and setting out at midnight attended by a few of his friends, and travelling hard by night, he reached Conway by day-break, where he found that all was well nigh lost, and that his enemies had reported him dead. From Conway he went to Beaumaris, where, notwithstanding the strength of the castle, the lack of provisions and of faithful followers made it impossible for the King to establish himself there. From Beaumaris he went to Carnarvon. Here, matters were the same as at Beaumaris. “In all his castles to which he retired,” says a contemporary chronicler,¹ “there was no furniture, nor had he anything to lie down upon but straw. Really, he lay in this

1. Written by a French Knight whose name is unknown. He came over to England in 1399, and remained in close attendance on Richard II. until he was taken prisoner by Henry IV. The M.S., which is in metre, is now in the British Museum, and is valuable and interesting. Hollinshed and Stow made much use of it, and Shakespeare drew largely on Hollinshed for the materials which he worked into his Plays. An English translation of the M.S. appeared in 1824, from which the above extracts are taken.

manner for four or six nights, as, in truth, not a farthing's worth of victuals or of anything else was to be found in them. Certes. I dare not tell the great misery of the King." Returning to Conway, Richard fell a prisoner into the hands of the Earl of Northumberland, who told him he must carry him to Duke Henry; and they rode together towards the Castle of Flint, the King still wearing the cowl and dress of a monk. "And now," says the contemporary chronicler, "I shall treat of the afflictions and sorrows of King Richard in the Castle of Flint, where he awaited the coming of the Duke of Lancaster, who set out from the city of Chester on Tuesday the 22nd day of August, 1399, with the whole of his force, which I heard estimated at upwards of 100,000 men, marshalled in battle array, marching along the sea-shore with great joy and satisfaction, and eager also to take their rightful and natural lord King Richard; who, early in the morning of the said Tuesday, arose attended by sorrows, sadness, afflictions, mourning, weeping and lamentations. He heard Mass most devoutly with his good friends, the Earl of Salisbury, the Bishop of Carlisle, Sir Stephen Scroope and another knight named Ferriby, who for no adversity, nor any disaster that befell the King, would desert or relinquish him King Richard, having heard Mass, went up upon the walls of the Castle, which are large and wide on the inside, to behold the Duke of Lancaster, as he came along the sea-shore with all his host. It was marvellously great, and showed such joy and satisfaction that the sound and bruit of their instruments, their horns, pipes and trumpets, were heard even as far as the Castle. Then did King Richard commend himself unto the holy keeping of our Lord and of all the saints of heaven And he spake to the Earl of Salisbury, to the Bishop of Carlisle, and to the two Knights, Sir Stephen Scroope and Ferriby, weeping most tenderly, and greatly lamenting upon the said

walls of Flint Castle. So that I firmly believe no creature in this mortal world, let him be who he would, Jew or Saracen, could have beheld these five together without being heartily sorry for them. While they were in this distress they saw a great number of persons quit the host, pricking their horses hard towards the castle, to know what King Richard was doing. In this first company was the Archbishop of Canterbury,¹ Sir Thomas Percy, and the Earl of Rutland These came the very first to the Castle of Flint, bearing the order of Duke Henry. The Archbishop entered first, and the others after him ; and they went up to the donjon. Then the King came down from the walls, to whom they made very great obeisance—kneeling on the ground. The King caused them to rise, and drew the Archbishop aside, and they talked together a very long while. What they said, I know not ; but the Earl of Salisbury afterwards told me that the Archbishop had comforted the King in a very gentle manner ; telling him not to be alarmed, and that no harm should happen to his person. The Earl of Rutland, at that time, said nothing to the King, but kept at as great a distance as he could from him, like one that was ashamed to find himself in that presence. They mounted their horses again, and returned to Duke Henry who was drawing nigh ; for between the city of Chester and the castle there are but ten little miles, which are equal to five French leagues or thereabout. And there is neither hedge nor bush between them, nothing but the sea-shore, and on the other side lofty rocks and mountains. And be assured that he made a fine show with them as they came ; for they were right well marshalled, and their numbers were such, that for mine own part I never saw so many people together. I think that

1. Arundel,

the chief captain of all the duke's army was Sir Henry Percy¹ whom they hold to be the best knight in England. The King went up again upon the castle walls, and saw that the army was two shots from the castle. Then he, together with those who were with him, began anew great lamentations ; bewailing most piteously his consort Isabel of France, and calling upon our Lord Jesus Christ ... while the King spake, the host approached the castle, and entirely surrounded it, even to the sea, in very fair array. ... In the meantime, a great number of knights, squires, and archers quitted the host of Duke Henry, and came to the said castle, desiring to behold their King. ... They went to see him at dinner, and published throughout the castle that, as soon as the duke should be come, all those that were with him, would have their heads cut off. ... At the entrance of the castle, Lancaster brought us before the Duke, kneeling on the ground, and the herald told him in the English language that we were of France, and that the King had sent us with King Richard into Ireland for recreation, and earnestly entreated him to save our lives. And then the duke made answer in French, My young men, fear not, neither be dismayed at anything that you behold, and keep close to me, and I will answer for your lives. ... Then they made the King, who had dined in the donjon, came down to meet Duke Henry, who as soon as he perceived him at a distance, bowed very low to the ground ; and as they approached each other he bowed a second time with his cap in his hand ; and then the King took off his bonnet, and spake first in this manner : ' Fair cousin of Lancaster, you be right welcome.' Then Duke Henry replied, bowing very low to the ground, ' My Lord, I am come sooner than you sent for me ; the reason

1. The Harry Hotspur of Shakespeare.

wherefore, I will tell you. The common report of your people is such, that you have for the space of 20 or 22 years governed them very badly and very rigorously, and in so much that they are not well contented therewith. But, if it please our Lord, I will help you to govern them better than they have been governed in time past.' King Richard then answered him, 'Fair cousin, since it pleaseth you, it pleaseth us well.' And be assured that these are the very words that they two spake together, without taking away or adding anything, for I heard and understood them very well." The chronicler then goes on to relate how the King was taken to Chester, and "abode in the tower with his good friends the Earl of Salisbury, the Bishop of Carlisle, and the two Knights; and from thenceforth we could never see him, unless it were abroad on the journey; and we were forbidden to speak any more to him, or to any of the others." Richard was brought to London, and persuaded to resign the crown. Henry declared himself King in full parliament, A. D. 1399, under the title of Henry IV.; and though his claims were admitted at the time, Henry's unlawful title gave rise to the wars of Roses between the Houses of York and Lancaster, at a later period.

Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, who performed the ceremony of crowning Henry, was the leading spirit of this period; and, apart from his treatment of the heretics, realized the true position of King and people. Henry, feeling the weakness of his cause, consented to the passing of a law to burn heretics, in the hope of enlisting the support of the clergy. The Archbishop was especially active in violent measures against the Lollards, of whom Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, was the most illustrious victim. Dr. Sion Cent (A. D. 1420), or John of Kentchurch, Herefordshire, said

to have been a disciple of Cobham, is supposed to refer to his martyrdom in the lines—

"Paid aro, ond cof y cwyp
Olkaist,¹ ti ai yn eil cwyp."

Our poet, supposed by some writers to be Glyndwr himself, attacked Image Worship, common in his time, in the lines attributed to him—

"Dyma'r dallder a arferwyd,
Delwau vedd well na Duw lwydd,
Rhoi addoliant ar ddeulin
A ddylai i Grist, i ddelw grin."²

Sion Cent had a thrust at the Mendicants. "Formerly," he says, "Friars were preachers, who went about on foot with nothing but a staff, but now they possess horses, and frequented banquets. S. David never tasted wine or mead, nor did he wear any garment of horse hair."

At the fall of Richard, Glyndwr retired to his estate in Wales, with full resentment of his sovereign's wrongs. From Henry he had no favours to expect. Knowing this, Lord Gray of Ruthin seized some land to which Glyndwr laid claim; and the latter proceeded to secure for himself that redress which Parliament had denied him, by taking possession of the property in question. This developed into a rebellion; and Glyndwr's cause gained strength by the alliance of the Mortimers and the Percies, to ratify which, and to form a plan of campaign, a meeting was arranged between Glyndwr and his allies at Bangor, and which took place in a

1. Oldcastle.

2. "This was the blindness which prevailed
Images were more esteemed than the adorable God,
Worship, which was only due to Christ,
Was rendered on both knees to a rotten image."

"Room in the Archdeacon's House," (Shakespeare's 'Henry IV.')

"Scene I. Bangor. A Room in the Archdeacon's House.

[Enter Hotspur, Worcester, Mortimer and Glendower.

* * * * *

"Hotspur—Let me not understand you then. Speak it in Welsh.

Glendower—I can speak English, Lord, as well as you. I was trained up in the English Court."

"Archdeacon's House"¹ is a misnamer for "Deanery House," then occupied by Dean Daron, a native of Aberdaron, and an ardent supporter of Glyndwr. Here, in the Deanery House, Glyndwr and his allies met. So confident were they of success that they proceeded to divide the Kingdom among themselves. Mortimer was to have all the country from the Trent to the Severn; Northumberland, all the countries north of the Trent, and Glyndwr all the country west of the Severn, in addition to the Principality of Wales, which he claimed as his hereditary right,

"Glendower—Come, here's the Map. Shall we divide our right?

Mortimer—The Archdeacon (i.e. the Dean), hath divided it into three limits very equally."

Shakespeare's Henry IV.

1. There is no Archdeacon's House in Bangor now, but there may have been one, or the memory of one in Shakespeare's time. The present Deanery House has no ancient associations, but it must have had a predecessor somewhere—perhaps on or near the old cemetery, the land on and about which was, and part is still Deanery property "Plas Alcock," at the corner of Lon y Popty or Park Lane, now known as the "City Vaults," has always been ascribed to the house mentioned by Shakespeare. It is much mutilated, no architectural features remaining except the chimney, which is much later in style than the time of Henry IV. But an old house of Henry IV's time might have had a new chimney of Elizabeth's time, in the then prevailing style. There was a Hugh Alcock, Dean of Bangor, 1450—1468, and the house may have been named "Plas Alcock" after him.

After the Bangor conference, Glyndwr was formally acknowledged Prince of Wales at Machynlleth, at a gathering of Welsh nobles and commoners. For the part he took in this revolt, Dean Daron was outlawed by Henry IV., and one William Pollard thrust on the canons, but he was not installed. Glyndwr now turned on those of his countrymen who had been unfriendly to his cause. After an unsuccessful siege of Carnarvon, he directed his vengeance against the Church—his most powerful enemy. This explains, but does not justify, the total destruction by him of churches, notably the cathedrals of Bangor and S. Asaph, which he burnt to the ground. The Welsh sees had been occupied by Englishmen, unfriendly to the Welsh—hence their presence was regarded as a badge of conquest. The Bishop of Bangor at this time was Richard Yonge; he was in Germany when Glyndwr burnt down his cathedral, where he had been sent by Henry IV. in 1401, to give an account of the dethronement of Richard II., and where he made so long a stay that the temporalities of the see lapsed into the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury.¹ Dr. Kennett² says that in June 1402, Archbishop Arundel issued a writ to William Meinberough, Archdeacon of Chester, to certify the names of those who preached rebellion in the dioceses of S. Asaph and Bangor. Glyndwr nominated Llewelyn Bifort to the see of Bangor about this time. In a Book of Fines and Amercements of the inhabitants of the County of Anglesey,³ for taking part with Glyndwr, Bifort's name appears at the end of it, in the year 1406, among the chief of the outlawed persons. Walingham⁴

1. His. Gwydir, 53.

2. Letter to the Bishop of Carlisle, 132.

3. Ex "Coll. Reverendi Decani, Bangor."

4. His. Henry IV., Reign, 419

says that the Bishop of Bangor was taken prisoner in the battle fought in Yorkshire, Feb. 19, 1407 or 8, where the Earl of Northumberland and Lord Bardolph were slain; but the bishop's life was spared, because he bore no weapon. Godwin¹ says this was Bifort; and that the Pope, to please Henry, removed him hence to some shadow of a bishopric.

The Franciscans favoured Glyndwr, and were suspected by Henry of promoting the Welsh revolt, and even of inviting Glyndwr to invade England. The Order was the first to suffer from the King's party. Henry marched into Anglesey with a strong army, plundered the Franciscan Monastery at Llanfaes—A.D. 1400—putting some of the fraternity to death, and replacing them by his own supporters. Glyndwr retaliated by destroying the Cistercian Abbey of Cwmhir; and Henry burnt down the Abbey of Strata Florida. Marching to S. Asaph, Glyndwr burnt down the Cathedral, the Palace, and the Canon's houses; and about the same time destroyed the houses belonging to the Bishop at Meliden, Bodidris, and S. Martin's. The Bishop of S. Asaph at this time was John Trevor II., who, on his appointment in 1395, professed the warmest friendship for Richard II.; but on the usurpation of Henry Bolingbroke, the Bishop showed his ingratitude by deserting his patron, and pronounced sentence of deposition on Richard in Flint Castle, and accepted an embassy to the Spanish Court to justify the action of Henry. The Bishop's infidelity roused the indignation of Glyndwr, to which he gave vent by destroying all the church property with which the Bishop was connected. On his return from Spain, the Bishop transferred his allegiance to Glyndwr. Henry deposed Trevor, but the sentence was a dead letter, for Glyndwr was powerful enough to secure him the enjoyment of his episcopal revenues up to the time of

1. "Bishops." 539.

his death, which happened in Paris, in 1400, where he had been sent as an ambassador for Glyndwr to obtain the aid of the French King. During the closing years of his life the Bishop continued faithful to Glyndwr. This lent a colouring to the adverse criticism of his character, that he adhered to Glyndwr's cause while he was in the ascendancy. It is, however, more probable that he was actuated by other than selfish motives in deserting Henry, i.e., his refusal to be a party to the oppressive laws passed against his countrymen, of which he made an unsuccessful attempt to obtain a mitigation, and warned the House of Lords of the imminent danger if some redress were not found ; to which some of the Lords replied "that they did not fear that rascally bare-footed people." The English parliament, in its determination to put down Glyndwr's revolt, enacted statutes which for severity are unsurpassed in the annals of legislation. Intercourse between the two peoples was, as far as possible, to be restricted. No Welshman was allowed to purchase houses or lands in or near any of the cities or towns in the Marches, under pain of forfeiture. Welshmen were disqualified from being burgesses or citizens in any corporate town. Mayoralities, constabships, and all public offices were shut out against them. Suits and actions between Welshmen and Englishmen were to be decided only by English judges and English juries. The bards, as a body, came under the ban of the King as espousing the cause of Glyndwr, by lauding him to the skies as the deliverer of their country. An Act was passed declaring *cymmorthau*,—a custom in which a whole neighbourhood used to turn out to help those who needed help in agricultural pursuits, and of which advantage was taken to sow seeds of disaffection amongst the peasantry—illegal ; and all assemblings of bards, who were designated "rymours and minstralls," were prohibited, and treated as vagabonds, for they travelled from

house to house, and attended all the fairs, and other public gatherings where they sang the rhymes.

By the enactments of Henry IV. against the Welsh, no child of Welsh parents could be apprenticed to any trade in any city or town within the kingdom. All meetings were declared unlawful unless licensed by English authority. The manufacture or importation of armour into Wales was prohibited, and the right to carry arms or weapons of any kind was denied. Marriages between Englishmen and Welshwomen were discouraged, and an Englishman so offending was to lose all his franchises; while the Welshman who had courage enough to wed an Englishwoman, or to acquire property in English towns, was liable to extreme penalties.

No wonder that the enactments of Henry, which were based on the policy of retaining England and Wales for the English people, embittered the feelings of the Welsh people, and prolonged the struggle at the head of which Glyndwr had placed himself, during which, and for a long time afterwards, the spiritual wants of the country must have suffered much, if we take Bangor Cathedral as an index to the real state of things; for the building continued in ruins 90 years after it was burnt down by Glyndwr.

The extreme wretchedness sometimes ascribed to Glyndwr's condition during the closing years of his life lack corroboration. That he was not a fugitive and an outcast is evident from the existence of a Treaty of Release. Moreover Sir Gilbert Talbot, once Glyndwr's opponent on the battle-field, was deputed by Henry V. to negotiate with him on terms which secured his personal safety, as well as the safety of such his friends as continued faithful to him. Whether Glyndwr accepted the King's offers is not known; but they were renewed and accepted by his son, Meredydd, on the 24th Feb. 1416, about five months after the death of

his father. Glyndwr died Sept. 20th, 1415, in the 61st year of his age, at Monington, according to popular tradition, the residence of his youngest daughter who had married Roger Monington, and was buried at Monington church-yard.¹ The Harleian MSS. speak of the discovery of a body, supposed to be that of Glyndwr, at the restoration of the parish Church in the year 1680, and that it was entire, and of "goodly stature." Kentchurch, the residence of another daughter of Glyndwr, also claims to be the place of his burial. Both theories indicate that he died, as Rapin says, in Herefordshire. "It is impossible not to feel, with a shade of disappointment," says Dean Howson²; "that if Wales had ever possessed a Sir Walter Scott, we should have known far more concerning Owain Glendower than we do know, or, at least, that he would have stood out with lineaments more definitely marked on the canvas of Fiction. It is remarkable that we seem to have no record of his personal appearance, his customary gestures or phrases or the colour of his eyes and hair. The only circumstance of this kind on record is one which is noted on an occasion when for a moment his brother's dead body was supposed to be the corpse of the prince himself, and when the mistake was speedily corrected by observing that in this case there was no wart above the eyebrow. ... Of course, Glendower is called a rebel and a traitor. But Henry IV. was successful, Glendower was not; and, if we blame this outburst of local nationality, at least we are bound to remember that only a century had then passed since Edward I. had brought the Welsh into real subjection to the English Crown."

"Treason does never prosper, what's the reason?
Why, when it prospers, none dare call it treason."

1. Pennant's *Tours in Wales*, i. 368.

2. "The River Dee: its Aspect and History," p. 31.

The demoralising effect of the insurrection—and the revolt lasted nearly 15 years—reduced Wales into a much worse condition than it was before; and the people sank into a state of anarchy and lawlessness. The influence of morals and religion on the country was reduced almost to nothing; crime was rampant; human life had no sanctity, and no regard was paid to the rights of property. The iron heel of the conqueror pressed heavily on the vanquished, and the Welshman retaliated by the raids which became very frequent on the Marches, in which antipathy of race violently asserted itself, and gave existence to the well known lines:—

"Taffy was a Welshman,
Taffy was a thief," &c.

However much we may repudiate these lines as indicating the true character of Welshmen, it must be admitted that at this period, the Welsh gentry were not better than robbers, and their houses afforded protection to criminals of the darkest hue. Murders were of daily occurrence. The *lawrydd* — *lofrydd* — or murderer, was a favourite at the halls of the gentry, and ever found choice entertainment there.¹ The clergy, regular and secular, did not escape the general demoralising effects of the insurrection. Their remote and scattered homes among the Welsh mountains, removed them from civilising influences. Some of the most sacred rites and doctrines of the Church were openly violated. Concubinage was very common. According to Strype,² it was openly permitted in the diocese of S. David's, on payment of a fee to the priest's superior; and that the arrangement was looked upon with favour by the people as affording some protection to their wives and daughters. This liberty of con-

1 His. Gwydir Family, by Sir John Wyn.

2. Memorials

cubinage appears to have saved the South Wales clergy from the more grave charges laid against their brethren of North Wales in open court, at the Carnarvonshire sessions, held at Carnarvon, after the Feast of Conception, in 1499; the record of which recites that "many and divers vicious priests and clerks within holy orders, within the principality of North Wales, defile many women, wives and daughters of the Prince's tenants." The law as it then stood punished the husbands and fathers, and not the offending priests. At these sessions it was, however, decided that in future, the priests "so unvirtuously disposed" should be distrained of their goods and lands, and for want of sufficient distress should be imprisoned until satisfaction had been made.¹

The ecclesiastical and civil condition of Wales was not improved until the accession of a prince of Welsh blood to the throne of England. The marriage of Catherine, Queen Dowager of Henry V., to Owain Tudor, of Penmynydd, Anglesey—a gentleman descended from the old Welsh princes, augured well for the future of Wales. Of this marriage there was issue, Edmund, Earl of Richmond, and Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, whose descendants were destined to sit on the throne of England. The introduction of some of his kinsmen from Wales to the Queen by her husband drew from her the remark, that they were "the handsomest dumb creatures she had ever seen," for not a word of English could they speak.

Some of the opinions for which Lord Cobham died were held in the reign of Henry VI., by Reginald Peacock, Bishop of St. Asaph. (A.D. 1444—50), whose writings were specially aimed against the idea of the infallibility of the Church of Rome. Though a strong opponent of Lollardism,

1. Records of Carnarvon, 297.

and a vigorous supporter of the papal claims in their strongest form, he nevertheless affirmed that it was not necessary to believe all that was affirmed and determined by a general council; and that the Universal Church may err in matters of faith. Being subsequently called to account for his opinions, he gave way to threats, and abjured them publicly at Paul's Cross, where he had to submit to the indignity of witnessing the burning of his own writings; and was himself imprisoned at Thorney Abbey, "where he was to have no book to look on, but only a Masse Book, a Saulter or Legend, and a Bible, and to have nothing to write with, no stuff to write upon."¹ Though himself silenced, the influence of his writings had taken root, and bore fruit in the next reigns.

At the outbreak of the Wars of the Roses, the sympathy of the Welsh was with the House of York; but through the influence of the Earl of Pembroke, and owing to the fact that Henry, Duke of Richmond, the representative of the House of Lancaster, was the grandson of Owain Tudor and nephew of the Earl of Pembroke, the Welsh joined the Lancastrians: and the Welsh bards took up Richmond's cause, and sang his praises in house and field. Richard Kyffin, Dean of Bangor, was among the chief of Richmond's supporters, and of great assistance to him in sending despatches by fishing boats to Brittany, from Llanddwyn,² a parish on the Anglesey coast of which the Dean was rector,

1. Browne Willis's Survey of S. Asaph, i. 83.

2. This benefice was one of the best livings in Bangor diocese in the time of Dean Kyffin. Its emoluments were mainly derived from the offerings of pilgrims, who flocked there in large numbers—attracted by the sacred relics, and other objects of devotion found there. The greater part of the parish has now been washed away by the encroachment of the sea, and what remains of it is incorporated with the parish of Newborough, and the only inhabitants are the inmates of the Lighthouse and a few fishermen.

and where the ruins of his house, and of the east gable of the church still remain. Richmond sailed from Normandy with about 2,000 men, and landed at Milford Haven, Pembrokeshire, and his army was soon increased to 6,000, consisting largely of Welshmen. Richard III. met him at Bosworth Field, near Leicester, where a great battle was fought, in which Richmond, with the aid of Welsh swords, was victorious. Richard, who is said to have been slain by Rhys ap Thomas, fell on the battle field covered with wounds; and his crown, which was found in a hawthorn bush hard by, was placed on Richmond's head by Sir William Stanley, who saluted him as "King Henry the Seventh." The new King there and then knighted Rhys ap Thomas, who had dealt Richard III. the fatal blow on the field of battle.

The accession of Henry Tudor, or Tudur, to the English throne marks a new epoch in the ecclesiastical and civil history of Wales. The new King was not unmindful of the valuable services rendered him by his countrymen of Wales in his conflict with Richard. Welshmen flocked to Henry's court, where they were in great favour, and made their influence felt in obtaining the repeal of the harsh laws enacted against them by Henry IV. Welshmen were no longer disqualified from holding public offices. The Welsh names of the Bishops occupying Welsh sees during the 24 years of the reign of Henry VII. testify that he appointed Welshmen for the most part to Welsh sees. Dafydd ap Iorwerth, sometime Abbot of Valley Crucis Abbey, and Bishop of S. Asaph 1500—3, "while he presided over this Abbey was distinguished for his hospitality and patronage of the Welsh bards,"¹

To Dean Kyffin of Bangor the King, for his fidelity to him when an exile in Normandy, made a grant of several lands

1. Archæ. Camb. i. 26.

and also liberty to found a certain chantry in the south transept of Bangor Cathedral, which was dedicated to S. Catherine, in memory of the King's grandmother, the Dowager Queen Catherine, who married Owain Tudor. No great schemes of religious reform were effected in the reign of Henry VII. These were reserved till the reign of his son Henry VIII.; who succeeded his father A.D. 1509.



CHAPTER XXV.

HENRY VIII. A.D. 1509—1547. THE REFORMATION.

“Under the name of the Reformation we jumble together a great many changes, spread over many years. As a matter of fact, they were acts done by different people at different times; and those who, at any stage, wrought one change, had no thought that the others would follow. The final result might be, that theological continuity was broken; but no act was done by which legal and historical continuity was broken.”—*Freeman*.

NEXT to the subject of the Reformation, the question of reforms in Wales engaged the King's attention; and the harsh enactments of Henry IV. were not repealed till this reign.

True to his Welsh instincts—instincts which have characterized Welshmen from the time of Pelagius to the present day—Henry showed his fondness for theological controversy in his work on the Seven Sacraments against Luther. For this work Pope Leo X. conferred on the King the title *Fidei Defensor*, which, however, he regretted soon afterwards, and endeavoured to withdraw it. But the title was ratified by Parliament; and all the sovereigns of England have since assumed it, and is unto this day inscribed on all public documents, and on the coinage of the realm.

The year 1519 marks the revival of the Eisteddfod, which gave a decided impetus to Welsh literature. By command of the King, a Royal Eisteddfod was held at Caerwys in 1523. And on a petition of the Welsh people in 1536, a law was passed which in its main provisions enacted; (1) that the principality and country of Wales should be united

for ever to England ; (2) that all Welsh people should enjoy equal freedom, rights, privileges, and laws with the English subjects of the King ; (3) that lands in Wales should be possessed by the eldest son, according to the English rule of heritage, and not divided among all the children according to the old Welsh laws ; (4) that four Welsh shires should be arranged from the territory which was not so divided before, viz. Radnor, Brecon, Montgomery, and Denbigh ; (5) that the lands of the Lords of the Marches be united with some English counties according to convenience ; (6) that the English language alone be used in the law courts, and that no one who used the Welsh language should hold any office under the King, under pain of deprivation, until he adopted the use of the English language ; (7) that a commission be appointed to divide some counties into hundreds, and enquire into such Welsh laws as it might be profitable to retain ; (8) that each one of the twelve shires of Wales have power to return a knight to represent it in Parliament, and that every town mentioned in that Act have a similar power to return one burgess to represent it in Parliament ; (9) that the knights and burgesses be elected according to the English rule.¹

The people of Wales by this Act were placed on political equality with their fellow subjects in England, with this difference, that the English language was to be the language of the law courts in Wales. This, as regards plaintiff, defendant, witnesses and jurymen, must have been felt a real hardship then, because so very few Welsh people knew English at that time, and must have proved a hindrance to the administration of justice sometimes. Though the Welsh language was forbidden in the law courts, it was encouraged

1. 27 Henry VIII., Act xxvi., Statutes at Large (Ed, 1763), Vol. ii. pp. 420—7.

in the services of the Church, as a means to help on the work of the Reformation, one of the main principles of which was that the public ministrations of religion should be in the language "understood of the people." The Reformation dates from the year 1534, when Henry VIII. suppressed Papal Supremacy. But this great event, which was a revolution of thought and feeling, must not be regarded as the work of a day or of a generation, or an event which took the nation by surprise. It was the crisis towards which things had been tending for a long time before; for although the Roman Catholic religion prevailed outwardly all was not unity within: and the question of the King's divorce was only the match, as it were, which ignited the long train of combustible matter, and produced the explosion. Avarice, or "the love of money, which is the root of all evil," more even than the aggressive ambition of Rome in this age, was the main ground of complaint in England. "When the Commons were assembled in the Nether House (Nov. 4, 1529) they began to commune of the griefs wherewith the spirituality had before time grievously oppressed them; both contrary to all right; and in special they were sore moved with six causes;"¹ (1) the excessive fines levied by the ordinaries for the Probate of Wills, (2) the extreme exactions made for the mortuaries, (3) that the clergy employed themselves as surveyors, stewards of great men and others; occupied farms, granges, and grazings in every county; (4) that Abbots, Priors, and other officers connected with monastic bodies, kept tan-houses, and bought and sold all kinds of merchandise, as if they were laymen; (5) general non-residence of the clergy on their benefices, and (6) their holding pluralities. These grievances were remedied by Act of Parliament—21 Hen. viii. c. 13. As regards plural-

1. Hall p. 765, Lond. 1809. Wilkins Council iii. p. 739.

ities, however, the Act aimed more at checking the power of Rome than remedying the evil, for it empowered the King to grant dispensations to his chaplain to hold any number of benefices. Camden¹ sums up the result thus: "England, as politicians have observed, became of all the kingdoms of Christendom, the most free, the sceptre being, as it were, delivered from the forraine servitude of the Bishop of Rome, and more wealthy than in former ages, an infinite mass of money being stayed at home, which was wont to be exported daily to Rome, being incredibly exhausted from this commonwealth for first-fruits, pardons, appeals, dispensations, bulls, and other such like."

While the Pope delayed his decision in the matter of the King's divorce the English clergy, in Convocation assembled, decreed ;

"That the Pope of Rome hath no greater jurisdiction conferred upon him by God in Holy Scripture in the Kingdom of England than any other foreign Bishop."² Two years after this (26 Hen. viii. c. i.)³ the "Act concerning the King's highness to be supreme Head of the Church of England" was passed. The title Supreme Head was greatly disliked by some of the clergy, because it seemed to imply the conferring of spiritual functions on the King, whose character added much to that dislike. Many and grave as Henry's faults were, he has never been held up as a supreme guide in faith and morals; and his character will compare favourably with the characters of some of the Popes, one of whom died in the forbidden embraces of abused women.⁴

1. "Elizabeth." Bk. i. p. 20. London, 1635.

2. Wilkins iii. 769.

3. Statutes of the Realm iii, 492.

4. "Holy Dying" (Jeremy Taylor). Chap. iii. Sec. ix. par. 6.

John XXIII. and Alexander VI. were monsters of iniquity. By the side of Julius II, who was Pope when Henry VIII. ascended the throne, the English King stood comparatively faultless.

To prevent any misapprehension respecting the title Supreme Head of the Church, an explanatory document was put forth at the time of the passing of the Act,¹ in which it was stated that no new authority had been conferred on the King, i.e., "that he have such power only as by the laws of God rightly appertained to a King, and not that he should take any spiritual power from spiritual ministers that is given to them by the Gospel: and that the words that 'the King is supreme head of the Church' were intended only more openly to certify the world that the King has power to suppress all such extorted powers, as well of the Bishop of Rome as of any other within this realm, whereby his subjects might be grieved; and to correct and remove all things whereby any unquietness might arise among the people: and to prove that the King should not take any powers from the successors of the Apostles, which was given them by God."

The suppression of Papal supremacy could no more affect the historical continuity of the English Church than it could affect the continuity of the nation. It was simply the undoing of the act of William the Conqueror who reluctantly accepted this yoke of bondage laid upon him by Pope Gregory VII.—and in accepting it the Conqueror was guided by force of circumstances, not by precedent, as he was careful to remind Hildebrand. The acceptance by the Conqueror, and the rejection by Henry VIII. of the Papal Supremacy were events in the history of the Church which

1. See Froude's *His.* Vol. ii., 327. (Note).

did not affect her organic continuity as a spiritual body, more than the disestablishment and the disendowment of the Irish Church affected her unity with the Church of England. "The facts of history compel us," says Freeman, "to assume the absolute identity of the Church of England after the Reformation with the Church of England before the Reformation." Just as a man who has survived a severe operation—weakened by the shock, it may be—needing time and care to recruit his strength—is still the same man, with the same heart beating, the same brain working, the same bodily and mental powers.

The Royal Supremacy was not accepted without a struggle. Sir Thomas More was executed for denying it. A distinguished Welshman suffered a similar penalty for a like offence—Edward Powell, D.D., a native of Wales, Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford—and a Prebendary of Salisbury Cathedral. Queen Catherine, in the matter of her divorce from Henry, retained Dr. Powell as her advocate, on account of his great learning and unflinching courage. In 1523 he wrote a book of such great learning on the Seven Sacraments against Luther, that when the authorities of Oxford University, where Dr. Powell was held in the highest esteem, wrote to King Henry to certify him of certain Doctors of Divinity of their own body that had lately written each of them a book against Luther, they made special mention of Dr. Powell and his work. As an upholder of Papal Supremacy, he offended the King more than he had before pleased him by his writings against Luther. For refusing the oath of succession, Dr. Powell was committed to prison; and having been sentenced to death, was executed at Smithfield, July 30, 1540.¹

1. Wood's Athen. Oxon.

It is strange to read of men of the learning and undoubted piety of Sir Thomas More and Dr. Powell sacrificing their lives in support of a false doctrine based upon the false Decretals. "Upon these suprious Decretals," says Hallam, "was built the great fabric of Papal Supremacy over the different National Churches, a fabric which has stood after its foundation crumbled beneath it; for no one has pretended to deny during the last two centuries that the imposture is too palpable for any but the most ignorant ages to credit."

As the suppression of Papal Supremacy was the assertion of the principle of a National Church, so the dissolution of the monasteries, which soon followed, was a practical application of that principle. The lesser monasteries, chiefly the houses of the friars or mendicant orders, were first doomed, because (1) the inmates were the most devoted subjects of the Pope. When Pope Paul III. decided on excommunicating Henry VIII., and was inciting foreign powers to invade England, the question of suppressing monasteries was discussed by the King in council; for it was felt that the inmates were the Pope's allies, "for nourishing a seminary of factious persons who opposed the royal supremacy, and might become instruments for stirring sedition in the kingdom, at the time when foreign powers might invade it;"² (2) because of the alleged immorality of the friars. A visitation, with Lord Cromwell at its head as Vicar General, was ordered, professedly with the object of correcting such abuses, and to punish such of the friars as were seditious. The report of this Commission was unfavourable to the monastic orders; but we are not compelled to accept as Gospel all the charges of immorality and impostures made by the motely crew of Commissioners appointed by the

2. Herbert's *Life of Henry VIII.* Kennett Coll. ii. 185.

King, who were far more concerned to possess themselves of the monastic property than they were to cure the abuses of which they complained. With regard to the greater monasteries, the visitors reported that the inmates were "regular, devout, and praiseworthy." The vagrant habits of the friars who went about among all classes without shoes or money, holding open air services, and preaching vigorously often against the well conditioned monk who stayed in his monastery, threw them among temptations, and kept them at the same time from wholesome restraints. Abroad they were notorious for intrigues in the hospitable homes of the peasants and artizans who received them into their houses.

The year 1536 witnessed the downfall of 376 of the smaller monasteries, and by the Act, 27 Hen. VIII. c. 28.² "All religious houses of Monks, Canons, and Nuns, that did not 'dispend' above the clear yearly value of £200 were made over and assured" to the King ; and "all ornaments, jewels, goods, chattels, and debts in any case belonging either to such monasteries, or the chief officers." The annual income of all the monastic houses suppressed by Henry was estimated at £273,000—equal to £6,000,000 per annum at the present day.

The suppression of the monasteries shook the constitution to its very foundations ; for the manifold relations which the monastic system bore to the religious feelings, the habits, businesses and wants of social life were powers to be reckoned with, and a large number of men and women were turned adrift homeless and penniless. No wonder that Cromwell felt the State rocking under him, and suggested to the King that the Abbey lands and tithes should be sold at easy prices to the nobles and gentry—tempting brides to help on the

2. Statutes of the Realm iii. 575.

work of spoliation. Thus Popish lands, as it was said, made Protestant landlords—but the persons who then accepted the bribes were Roman Catholics—and thus the lay-impropriator, a character hitherto almost unknown, came into existence.³ The receivers of the spoil, however, rarely prospered. Archbishop Whitgift, in his appeal to Queen Elizabeth against the sacrilegious designs of the Earl of Leicester, asserts this: “Already,” he says, “it has become visible in many families, that Church land, added to an ancient and just inheritance, hath proved like a moth fretting a garment, and secretly consumed both.”⁴ Spoliation threatened to proceed even to the Universities, and Henry procured an Act for their dissolution in the year 1545; but they were mercifully saved through the pleadings of Queen Catherine Parr.

Disestablished and disendowed, the Abbies and Monasteries were for ever deserted. The effect of this on society at large,—notwithstanding that the new channel into which public benefactions now began to flow indicated that there was in the public mind a distrust of the monastic system, for whilst no abbey or priory had been founded for 30 years before the dissolution of the monasteries, the endowment of schools and colleges was becoming more and more frequent—was much the same as would be the case if the poor laws, infirmaries, asylums and public libraries, were at once abolished; for the monastic system largely supplied these needs. The fact that no legal provision was necessary for the poor till after the dissolution of the monasteries—and the first Poor Law Act dates no further back than the 5th year of Elizabeth—shows their efficient care for the poor. The ornate

3. Blunt's *His. Ref.* 143.

4. Walton's *Life of Hooker*, *Eccl. Biog.* Vol. iv. p. 26,

5. Knight's *Life of Dean Colet*.

fixtures, and magnificent carvings of the Abbey sanctuaries were ruthlessly cut down, the mosaic pavements dug up, the stained windows dashed to pieces, and the bells gambled for and sold, and the monastic cells abandoned to foxes and owls. The libraries, the accumulation of ages, were left to the ignorant tiller of the soil, who seized their contents for the sake of the parchment they contained. "Some books reserved for their jakes, some to scour their candlesticks, some to rub their boots, some sold to the grocers and soap boilers, and some sent over sea to bookbinders not in small numbers, but at times whole shipsful, to the wondering of foreign nations: a single merchant purchasing at forty shillings a piece two noble libraries to be used as grey paper; and such as having already sufficed for ten years were abundantly enough (says the eyewitness whose words are here quoted) for many years more.¹" A striking testimony to the enormous sacrifice which the Reformation cost us in literature alone; for in every monastery not only was a record kept of the transactions of the society, but the political events of the period were regularly noted. This loss was equally as great to Welsh history, for the Welsh monasteries favoured Welsh literature and sympathised with the national sentiment. Gutto'r Glyn, one of the most eminent Welsh poets of the 15th century, and domestic bard to David, Abbot of Valle Crucis Abbey, speaks in glowing terms of his master, whom he compares to S. Anthony amidst the gilt and foliated images, the choir, the chalices and the books of the Abbey. There can be no doubt that the revolt of Glyndwr, the Wars of the Roses, and the Dissolution of the monasteries had involved the ruin of almost all collections of Welsh MSS. whether in the possession of private individuals or ecclesiastical bodies, so that at the

1. Spelman *His. and Fate of Sacrilege*, 202.

period of the Reformation there was hardly any Welsh literature worthy of the name. The Latin Letter of Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, addressed in the year 1282 to the Canons of S. Asaph, authorising them to use the MS. translation of the Four Gospels then in the Cathedral Library, is sometimes supposed to have reference to a Welsh translation, which was considered old even at that time. But it is impossible to say whether the translation to which Peckham refers was a Latin, English or Welsh Version of the Four Gospels. The designation "Evengelython," quoted by Peckham, and probably a corruption of the Welsh "Efenglyddion," or "Gospels," does not necessarily prove that the translation was Welsh. The Welsh people would call it "Efengyl" (Gospel) in whatever language it was written. Bishop Davies (1560—82) writes;¹ "I never saw a Welsh Bible, but when I was a boy, I remember seeing the Five Books of Moses in Welsh in my uncle's house, who was a learned man, but no one paid any attention to the book, nor put any value upon it. I am doubtful if it be possible to see any old Welsh Bible in the whole of Wales. But I have no doubt that the Welsh Bible was at one time common enough. The perfection of the faith of the martyrs, clerical and lay, is a strong proof that they had the Holy Scriptures in their own language We have also in the Welsh language several expressions and proverbs which continue still in use, and are taken from Holy Scriptures, and from the Gospel of Christ. These are sufficient proofs that the Holy Scriptures were in every one's head, when they were begun and when they were brought into general use. Such proverbs as "Duw a digon, heb Dduw heb ddim" ("With God enough, without God without anything"); "Mor wired a'r Efengyl" ("as true as the Gos-

1. Preface to Salesbury's Welsh Test, (A.D. 1567.)

pel"), and such other like proverbs. There are also many names formerly in use among the Welsh that afford an additional proof of this; such as Abraharr, Bishop of S. Davids'; Adda (Adam) Fras, one of the Bards; Aaron, Bishop of S. Asaph; Daniel, the first Bishop of Bangor; Samuel Beulan, a learned clergyman; Samson, the twenty-sixth and the last Bishop of S. Davids', and such like names that occur in the old pedigrees. These show that the Scriptures were well known among our ancestors." Dafydd Ddu o Hiraddug, rector of Treneirchion, and Canon of S. Asaph, is said to have translated portions of the Book of Psalms into Welsh about 1349, also part of the first chapter of S. Luke's Gospel, including the Song of Zacharias and the Salutation of the Angel Gabriel to Mary. He also translated from the Latin into Welsh the *Officium B. Mariæ*, which contains some portions of the Psalms, and is interesting as containing probably the earliest known Welsh translation from the Book of Psalms. Coming to a later period in the reign of Henry VIII., a translation into Welsh by Sir John Price, of the *Institutions of the Christian Man*, appeared in 1546. This was the first book ever printed in the Welsh language, and had the following title: "Bibl; Yn y Llyvyr hwn y traethyr Gwyddor Cymraeg, Kalendyr, Y Credo, neu Bynkeu y Ffydd Gatholig, Y Pader, neu Weddi yr Arglwydd, y Deng Air Deddyf, y Kampay arferadwy a'r Gweddiau gocheladwy ac Keingeu." In 1547, William Salesbury published "A Dictionary in Englishe and Welshe." The materials for a vocabulary were scanty indeed, and this Dictionary contained 5500 words, out of which number 1200 bear the impress of the English language. The Welsh language was not as purely spoken then as it is now, but it was the language of the masses, though its literature was more circumscribed because but few could read then. The writings of Chaucer show

the meagreness of the English language also in Pre-Reformation times. The number of Welsh books published at the period of the Reformation was so small, and the number of readers so few, that even the Welsh Bible had little influence on the Welsh people and their language for a long time after its publication in 1588. In his Dedication of the Dictionary to Henry VIII., Salesbury says: "Wherefore, seeing there is many of your graces subjects in Wales that readeth perfectly the Welsh tongue, which, if they had English expounded in the Welsh speech, might be both their own school-masters and other men's also, and thereby most speedily obtain the knowledge of the English tongue throughout all the country. I have writ a little English Dictionary with the Welsh interpretation, whereunto I have prefixed a treatise of the English pronunciation of the letters."

The list of Welsh Monasteries appended to this chapter, incomplete as it is, is sufficient to show the work of spoliation that was going on in Wales, which had its full share of monasteries. In Wales, as in England, the Visitors appointed by Henry were charged with inordinate rapacity, with private embezzlement of the vast property lying at their mercy; and of abusing the opportunities which the commission gave them, and of corrupting the nuns.¹

Dr. Elis Pryse, or the "Dr. Coch" as he was known in Wales, from the reddish colour of his hair and beard, was "the Commisarie General of the diocese of Saynte Asaph ... for the expulsinge and taking away of certain abusions, superstitions, and ipocryses used within the said diocese." He wrote a half pious, half jocular Report

¹, Blunt's *His. Ref.* 140.

to Lord Cromwell of the result of his inspection of the North Wales Monasteries. Speaking of his portrait at Bodscallen, Pennant says,¹ "But the most remarkable is that of Dr. Elis Pryse, of Plas Yollin, Denbighshire, dated 1605, a creature of the Earl of Leicester's, and devoted to all his bad designs. Pryse's dress is a white jacket, with a broad turn-over; his hair yellow, and his beard thin, and of the same colour: his visage very long, lank, and hypocritical. He was the greatest of our knaves in the period in which he lived; and a true sycophant; the most dreaded oppressor in his neighbourhood; for a common address of his letters to this patron was, 'O Lord, *In thee do I put my trust.*'"

In Wales as in England, the parochial endowments were left in possession of the parochial clergy. Tithes are much older than Parliament—the first Parliament dates no further back than 1265. The Church is much older than the State—in fact, the Church gave existence to the State; and the endowments of the former are voluntary gifts given at different times, long before there was a State in the strict sense of the word. Parliament after it came to existence did ratify those gifts, just as it ratifies by law now all similar gifts, whether they be to individuals or ecclesiastical or other bodies. Such ratification empowers such persons to have and to hold such gifts according to the will of the donor. There is no Act of Parliament giving the Church her endowments, such, for instance, as the State aid lately given to the Welsh University. And the fact that the tithe-owner—mark the term owner—collects his own tithe, clearly shows that the tithe is not a State tax, but a tithe-rent charge laid upon the land, in the first instance, by the individual owner; a charge levied and paid from time immemorial, which in itself gives the

1. *Tours in Wales*, Vol. II., p. 324.

Church a prescriptive right to it. No doubt laws have been passed at different times as to the mode of payment of tithe according to the exigencies of the times. "In the sixteenth century as at several times before and since," says Freeman, "laws were made to which the holders of ecclesiastical benefices had to conform under penalty of losing their benefices. As a matter of fact, the great mass of their holders did conform, through all changes. There was much less than people commonly think, even of taking from one person and giving to another; and the general taking from one religious Body and giving to another, which many people fancy took place under Henry VIII. or Elizabeth, simply never happened at all."

CYMMER ABBEY, near Dolgelley, Merionethshire

According to the Valuation in the Augmentation Office, dating from the 31st Henry VIII., the value of the site of the Monastery, with its lands, tenements and mills

	£	2	15	4
The Rectory of Llanelltyd		5	13	4
The Rectory of Llanegryn		13	13	4
The Rectory of Llanfachreth		6	13	4
24 "Cranocks" and two hoppets of wheat		10	6	6

These were all then on lease to John Pewis.

The other possessions described as part of the property of the Abbey, were—

Town of Redcrowe, lands and tenements	3	5	4
Town of Llanelltyd, divers tenements .	10	5	2
Town of Dolgelley, divers tenements .	2	8	4
Town of Cwmkadein, divers tenements and mill	3	2	0
Town of Trawsfryn, divers tenements .	5	0	0
Town of Llanechethe, tenements & rents	2	18	0
Chapel of Kadis	0	10	0
Fines or Perquisites of Courts	0	10	0

Sum total of the revenues seized by the Crown £67 5 8

The site of the Abbey remained in the Crown till the reign of Elizabeth, when it was bestowed on the Earl of Leicester in the 20th year of her reign. How it was since disposed of is not known. The only charge on it in 1553, was £6 13s. 4d. paid to Lewis ap Thomas, supposed to have been the last abbot.

2. NEATH ABBEY.

Valued, according to Dugdale at . 150 4 9

There were 8 Monks in the Abbey at the time of the dissolution, and was granted by 33 Henry VIII. to Sir Richard Williams, alias Crumwell, in exchange.

3. BASINGWERK.

The revenues of the Abbot, including those rising from mills, lands, cows and sheep, to 46 11 0

In 1540, the house and lands were granted to Henry ap Harry. (The ruins of the Abbey and its Church still remain.)

4. VALLE CRUCIS.

Valued, according to Dugdale, at the Dissolution, at £188 0 0

The last Abbot was John Herne, who received an annuity of £23 on his surrender. This abbey and lands remained in the Crown till the 9th year of James I., who granted it to Edward Wotton, afterwards Lord Wotton. A portion of the Abbey with its Chapel, still remain, and form a fine ruin.

5. MONASTERY OF PENRHYS.

Bishop Latimer, in a letter to Lord Cromwell which appears in Ellis' Original Letters (3 Series,

Vol. III., 207), recommends the burning of certain images of the Blessed Virgin. "I trust your Lordship will bestow our grett sibyll to sum good purposse ut periat memoria cum sonitu." He writes, "She hath byn the Devyll's instrument to brynge many (I feere) to eternal fyre ; now she heresylyff with her old syster of Walsynham, her younger syster of Ipswych, with the other too systers of Dongcaster and Penryesse (Penrhys) wold make a jolly mustere in Smythfield. They wold nott be all day in burnynge... .. 13, Jun. (1538 ?) At. Hartlebury."

This image of our Lady at Penrhys was held in great repute in Glamorgan, and many poems were addressed to it. According to the following extract from Stow's Chronicle, it would seem probable that this image of Our Lady of Penrhys met the same fate as the more famous image of Derfel Gadarn, from Llandderfel, Merionethshire.

"The images of our ladie of Walsingham and Ipswich were brought up to London, with all the jewels that hung about them, and divers other images both in England and Wales, whereunto any common pilgrimage was used, for avoiding of Idolatrie ; all which were burnt at Chalsey by Thomas Cromwell, privie Seale."¹

The Welsh had a prophecy that the image of Derfel would set a whole forest on fire. This image was taken to London in 1538, and used as fuel to burn Friar Forest, in Smithfield, for denying the King's Supremacy. The poor man was hanged in chains round his waist to a gallows, over which was placed the following inscription, in allusion to the image :—

1. Lewis, Top. Dic. of Wales.

"David Darvel Gutheren,
As sayth the Welshman,
Fetched outlawes out of Hell.

Now is he come with spere and sheld,
In harnes to burne in Smithfield,
For in Wales he may not dwel.

And Forest the freer,
That obstinate lyer,
That wyfully shalle dead.

In his contumacye,
The Gospel doeth deny,
The Kyng to be supreme leade."¹

This was construed into a fulfilment of the Welsh prophecy—for the image, indeed, burnt a Forest—to the delight of the Lord Mayor, the Dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk, the Lord Admiral, and the Lord Privy Seal, and many others of the nobility, who honoured the ghastly scene with their presence.² Bishop Latimer stood in a pulpit opposite the unhappy victim, while he was slowly roasting to death, and preached a jocose sermon on the crime of differing from his sovereign in religious opinions. But Latimer himself had to burn in the reign of Mary for a like offence, inasmuch as the Queen upheld the doctrine of Papal Supremacy, for upholding which Forest died, and for the denying of which Latimer was burnt. Both differed from their sovereign, because their sovereigns differed from each other. What was crime in one was crime in the other, if crime it be to differ from the sovereign in opinion.

6. TALLEY ABBEY, at its dissolution had eight
Canons, and its revenue was estimated at £153 I 4

From the richness of its endowment, its
abbots were little inferior in power to the

1. Halles' Chronicle ccxxxiii (Quoted in Pennants' Tours in Wales, ii. 65.)

2. Stow's Annals, 573.

Bishop of the Diocese.¹ Up to the year 1772, the ancient Abbey Church, though much out of repair, and half a ruin, was used for divine service. As the building was too large, and the expense of keeping it too great, it was then taken down, and some of the stones and timber used to erect the present Church.

7. LLANFAES CONVENT.

Henry VIII. sold this Convent, with its possessions, to one of his courtiers. The estate became in later years the property of a family of the name of White (now extinct) who built here a good mansion. It subsequently became by purchase the property of Lord Bulkeley, and now belongs to Sir Richard Bulkeley, Bart. The old Convent Church is turned into a barn.²

8. BEDDGELERT ABBEY, was valued at the Dissolution, according to Dugdale, at . £70 3 8

All the lands in Carnarvonshire belonging to this Abbey, Henry gave to the family of Bodvels; and the Anglesey property, except the township of Tre'rbeirdd,³ he gave to the Prydderchs. Edward Conway is named as the last Prior.⁴

1. Lewis Top. Dic. of Wales.

2. Pennant's Tours in Wales, i. 248.

3. Rowlands MSS.

4. Ibid' ii. 179

CHAPTER XXVI.

EDWARD VI. AND MARY, 1547—1558.

Archbishops of Canterbury.

Thomas Cranmer, 1533—1555.

Reginald Pole, 1555—1558.

Bishops of S. Asaph.

Robert Warton, 1536—1556.

Thomas Goldwell, 1556—1560.

Bishops of Bangor

Arthur Bulkeley, 1542—1555.

William Glynn, 1555—1559.

Bishops of S. David's.

William Barlow, 1536—1548.

Robert Ferrar, 1548—1554.

Bishop of Llandaff.

Anthony Kitchen, 1545—1566

THE weight and glory of the Reformation belong to the Church of England, and the advantages of her victory over Rome are shared by other bodies who have separated from her fold, rather than hold the formularies for which her martyrs died. The Reformation in England was more from the King than from the people, and was largely due to the firm will of the Tudors. Within the short period between the death of Henry VIII. and the accession of Elizabeth, the public profession of religion was thrice changed. Had public opinion been more decided on either side, these changes could not have been so easily effected. The people were strongly attached to the Tudors,—and this was especially the case as regards the people of Wales, who felt proud of their Welsh descent,—notwithstanding their arbitrary sway. The cardinal points of difference between Anglicans and Romans during this reign were (1) the nature of the Presence in the Eucharist; (2) the Marriage of Priests; and (3) the necessity of a vernacular liturgy. The old Latin

Missal, then commonly used, was taken to pieces; many parts of it discarded, especially the legends¹ and the invocation of saints. The remainder of the Missal was recast and put in an English garb; and appeared as the first Book of Common Prayer of 1549, chiefly drawn up by Cranmer. Macaulay,² no admirer of the Archbishop, speaks of "the moderate articles, decent ceremonies, the noble and pathetic liturgy of the Church of England. Her worship is not disfigured by mummery, yet she has preserved that art of striking the senses and filling the imagination in which the Catholic³ Church so eminently excels."

The moderate Reformers of the former part of Edward's reign gave way to the extreme party of the latter part, which is evident from the nature of the changes introduced into the Second Prayer Book of 1552. The title of the Communion Office of 1459, was changed in 1552, from "The Supper of the Lorde and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Masse," to "The Order for the Administracion of the Lordes Supper, or Holye Communion."

Beyond the dissolution of the monasteries the influence of the Reformation was but faintly felt in Wales. Strype⁴ writes, "Anno 1550. As to the success of the Reformation, it went on but slowly in the parts further distant from London. In Wales the people ordinarily carried their beads about with them to church, and used them in prayer. And even at the Church of Carmarthen, while the Bishop was at the Communion Table bareheaded doing his devotions, the

1. Belief in these legends died hard among Welsh people. As late as the middle of the last century they continued to pay great veneration to a legend called 'Breuddwyd Mair,' or 'Mary's Dream.'

2. Essays, p. 60.

3. i. e. Roman.

4. Memorials ii. 359 (Ed. 1822.)

people kneeled there and knocked their breasts at the sight of the Communion, using the same ceremonies as they had used in times past before the Mass. They brought their corpses to be buried with songs and candles lighted up about them. And one Dr. Hughes, ministering the Communion in the Cathedral Church of S. Davids', did, after the popish manner, break the host into three pieces, putting one of the parts into the cup, and giving a whole cake to communicants without breaking the same."

The Welsh Bishops did nothing to further this work of the Reformation in Wales. Warton, Bishop of St. Asaph—1536 to 1556, was seldom in the cathedral city during the twenty years of his episcopate. He lived much at Denbigh and Wrexham, and kept so great and expensive an establishment that, in order to obtain money, he let out on long leases the lands belonging to his bishopric, to its great impoverishment. Bulkeley, Bishop of Bangor from 1542 to 1555, sold the bells out of the Cathedral tower at Bangor, with some articles of Church-furniture, mitres, copes, and chalices. Bulkeley was the first Bishop who had resided in the diocese of Bangor for upwards of one hundred years. Kitchen, Bishop of Llandaff 1545 to 1566, ruined the see by leasing the estates for his own benefit, and was the veritable "Vicar of Bray," for he adapted himself to all the changes of the reigns of Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, and so held his bishopric undisturbed. In his

1. Singing at funerals is still common in Wales. The "Gwylaos," or Vigil with the Dead on the eve of burial, was common enough 30 years ago, but the custom has now almost died out. It was usual on such occasions to place three lighted candles on the coffin—emblematic of the Trinity. The souls of children dying before their parents were regarded as so many candles to light them to Paradise. On the Sunday after the funeral it was the custom, until comparatively recent times, for each relative of a deceased person to kneel on his grave, and exclaim "Nefoedd iddo," "May he be in heaven," a Welsh expression equivalent to the Latin, *Requiescat in pace*.

oath to Henry VIII, at his consecration, he professed to have had "the veil of darkness of the usurped power, authority, and jurisdiction of the see of Rome clearly taken away from his eyes."

Beyond the efforts of William Salesbury, nothing was done to further the cause of the Reformation in Wales during the reign of Edward. Salesbury was at Oxford between 1540 and 1547, under the influence of Jewel and Peter Martyr, and became an ardent Reformer. In 1550 he published the *Battery of the Pope's Bottereulx, commonly called the High Aitar*, wherein he speaks of himself, when a Roman Catholic, "as I was thus tangled and abominablye deceyved, and trayned, and brought up in tender age in the Pope's holilyke Religion before Christes second byrthe here in England." In the year 1551, Salesbury published the "Kynniver Llith a Ban o'r Ysgrythyr Lan ac a ddarlleir yr Eccleis pryd Commun, Y Sulieu, a'r Gwylieu trwy'r flwyddyn." This was a Welsh translation of the Epistles and Gospels for every Sunday and Holyday throughout the year. But his labours had little practical effect in this and the following reign. Apart from the fact that the national conservatism of the Welsh people bound them to the old rather than the new state of things, the Welsh Bishops were indifferent to the work of the Reformation.

The reign of Mary was a very important part of the Reformation: for it brought to the front men of constancy and courage, who dared to die in defence of its principles, and who wiped off, in a measure, the stains of the horrible extravagances, tyranny, frightful greed and cruelty that hitherto characterized it. The battle raged between two sections in the Church of England—the Anglican and Roman—the former maintaining its independence of Rome,

and the latter denying it. Both parties were churchmen. In the reign of Henry, Edward, and Mary there were many Non-conformists who did not conform to the decrees of the dominant party in the Church during those reigns. In this sense the Anglican, Roman and Puritan Martyrs may be termed Non-conformists to those laws, for the infringement of which they suffered. The term Protestant, applied to rather than assumed by the Reformers, is not found in any of the formularies of the Church of England. But the term "Romanensium" (Romish) occurs in the xxii. (Latin) Article. The term "Catholic" is limited in its meaning when applied to the Church of Rome exclusively. The opposite of Catholic is not Protestant, but heretic; the opposite of Protestant is not Catholic, but Papist. The old and orthodox term Catholic is accepted by Anglicans in its true sense as used in the Creeds—"I believe in one Catholic and Apostolic Church."

Mary issued orders to the bishops to deprive all married clergy of their benefices, and to suspend them. The effect of this, according to Parker, was that three fourths of the clergy of England were deprived. Burnet¹, however, says that only one fourth were deprived. Pope Julius—A.D. 1554—desired Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury, to absolve and reconcile bishops and priests ordained in the reign of Edward, but did not direct their re-ordination; for their orders were not declared invalid. Mary issued certain Articles to Boner, Bishop of London, March 4, 1554, to this effect: "Touching such persons as were heretofore promoted to any Orders, considering that they were not ordered in very deed, the Bishop of the diocese, finding otherwise sufficiency and ability in these men, may supply that thing

1. His. Ref. ii. 276.

which wanted in them before, and then, according to his discretion, admit them to minister."

Do the words "not ordered in very deed" imply the utter absence of any valid ordination at all under the Edwardian Ordinal? or, do they refer to the absence of certain ceremonies from that Ordinal which made it defective in that respect only? The words "very deed" seem to point to the manipulating of the instruments; and the words "may supply that thing which wanted in them before," seem to indicate that the omitted ceremonies of the Edwardian Ordinal were to be supplied. Whatever action Boner may himself have taken, it is certain that these Articles were not a general order making reordination compulsory. Individual bishops were allowed discretion on this point, and no Edwardian priest was deprived in the time of Mary on the score of inadequacy of Orders. "When we come to the question of freehold benefices, I personally examined hundreds of Marian institutions last autumn, all that are recorded in five important dioceses including London, and Mr. Frere has since examined hundreds more. In no case have we found deprivation of an incumbent for inadequacy of Orders suggested as the cause of vacancy. The cause (other than death) continually stated is that which we know did under Mary legally deprive a clergyman of his freehold benefice—namely, that he was '*conjugatus*,' a married man. On the other hand, there are clear cases of men ordained by the English Ordinal (men not married) being left in possession of their benefices."¹

The moderate Reformers were in the ascendancy during the earlier part of Mary's reign, but towards its close the

1. Letter in '*Church Times*,' May 6, 1896, by Bishop of Stepney, Chairman of the Church Historical Society.

Queen gave way to the influence of the extreme Romanists ; hence it was that the fiery persecution, which marred the closing years of her mournful life, did not break out till the latter years of her reign, and has handed her name to posterity as "Bloody Mary." Carlyle and Agnes Strickland, however, speak of her as a good woman. Notwithstanding her religious bigotry, she was not the monster of cruelty which history oftentimes represents her to be. Her cruelty was perverted justice, driven by the same force of heart that made her generous : and the spotless purity of her life contrasts favourably with that of her sister Elizabeth, who, notwithstanding her stupendous intellect and force of character, was swayed by her passions.

The number of martyrs burnt in Mary's reign was 284, among whom were Archbishop Cranmer, Bishops Ridley, Latimer, Hooper and Ferrar, and twenty one clergymen. The rest were laymen, many of whom were free-thinkers, perhaps the first seceders from the English Church in revolt from the Calvinism which prevailed in the reign of Mary. Of this number three suffered in Wales, but they were not Welshmen. Robert Ferrar, Bishop of S. David's, was burnt in the Market Place, Carmarthen, on March 30, 1555 ; for allowing the marriage of the clergy ; denying the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and affirming that man is justified by faith alone. A short time before the Bishop was burnt, a Mr. Richard Jones, a young gentleman of family in the county, lamented to him the severity and painfulness of his approaching fate. "If you see me once to stir," replied the Bishop, "while I suffer the pains of burning, then give no credit to the truth of those doctrines for which I die."¹ Ferrar suffered as a Christian,

¹, *Biographia Evangelica*, i. 348.

sealing his faith with his blood ; but though his heroic sufferings tend to throw a veil over his errors and frailties, it is not to be concealed that he had incurred suspension for clerical concubinage. Of the other two martyrs who were burned in Wales, nothing is known beyond their names and the dates on which they suffered. Rowllins White, a fisherman burnt at Cardiff in 1555, and William Nichol at Haverfordwest, in 1558. Richard Davies, who in the next reign became an eminent Welsh Bishop, was deprived of his benefice for being married, and fled to Geneva, where he suffered great privations. William Salesbury, already referred to as shewing active sympathy with the Reformation, lived in hiding during the Marian persecution, at his native place, Caedu, Llansannan—an outlandish parish among the hills of Denbighshire—where a chamber was curiously contrived for his concealment in the house, accessible by climbing inside the chimney.

On the death of Bishop of Glyn of Bangor in 1558, Mary nominated Morrus Clynnog, Prebendary of York, to that See ; but as the Queen died before his consecration, he, with Goldwell, Bishop of S. Asaph, fled to Rome. Clynnog became first rector of the English College there, and was noted by the students for his partiality to his countrymen of Wales, which gave rise to such friction between the resident English and Welsh students, that the Pope displaced Clynnog from the Rectory in 1581.¹ Deprived of his bishopric, Clynnog endeavoured to influence his countrymen through the press, by the publication of his devotional work the *Athrawiaeth Gristionogol* (The Christian Doctrine) which appeared in 1567. The following extracts show the contents, and illustrate the author's style as a Welsh writer : " Pymtheg dirgeledd yr Arglwydd Iesu Grist." (The Fifteen

1. Wood's *Athen Oxon*.

mysteries of the Lord Jesus Christ). “Y pump lawenychus a ellir i myfyrio wrth fyned dros y paderau y waith gyntaf.” (Five joys for meditation while going through the paternosters for the first time.) “Y pump dolur o’u styriaw wrth fyned eilwaith dros y paderau.” (The five wounds to be considered while going through the paternosters a second time.) “Gwecddi’r Arglwydd yn yr Ardd, ei scyrsio wrth y piler.” (The Lord’s Prayer in the Garden, his scourging by the pillar). “Esortiad i samio dy gydwybod.” (An exhortation to examine thy conscience.) “Sacrafenau i santaidd fam Eglwys, y Bedydd a Chryisma neu Fedydd Esgob.” (The Sacraments of the holy mother Church, Baptism, the Chrism, or Bishop’s Baptism—the Welsh colloquial term for Confirmation.)

To this manual Dr. Griffith Roberts, the learned Welsh scholar, wrote a Preface. Clynnog had appointed him Archdeacon of Anglesey on his own nomination to the See of Bangor; but Mary having died, neither of the appointments took effect. Clynnog and Roberts both fled to Rome, where the door of refuge was ever open to the faithful. Clynnog, who became head of the English College at Rome, appointed Roberts chaplain of that institution in 1564. Cardinal Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan, on his return from Rome in 1566, took Roberts with him to Milan, where he became Canon Theological of that famous Cathedral, and also confessor to his patron. Canon Roberts was a man of deep piety and learning, and wrote a Welsh manual of devotion, *Y Drych Cristionogol*, or the “Christian Mirror,” addressed to his “Beloved Welsh people, desiring their prosperity and success.” As the author of the first Welsh Grammar ever published, and which was printed at Milan yn 1567, the name of Canon Roberts is inseparably bound with the history of Welsh literature. The general

use of the Welsh language by the friends and foes of the Reformation in Wales shows that it was the chief medium of reaching the masses. Neither was the knowledge of the Welsh language limited to the uneducated. Clynnog, sometime Prebendary of York, and Griffith Roberts, could address their countrymen in Welsh in furtherance of the claims of Rome, as Bishop Richard Davies and William Salesbury could through the medium of the Welsh New Testament and the Welsh Book of Common Prayer of 1567, in furtherance of the principles of the Reformation. This explodes the idea lately advanced that the Welsh language was at the point of extinction before the Reformation. There can, however, be no doubt that this great event greatly enriched its vocabulary by the introduction of divine services in the vernacular—one the leading features of the Reformation.



CHAPTER XXVII.

ELIZABETH, 1558—1603.

Archbishops of Canterbury.

Matthew Parker, 1559—1575.

Edmund Grindal, 1575—1583.

John Whitgift, 1583—1604.

Bishops of S. Asaph.

Thomas Goldwell, 1556—1560

Richard Davies, 1560—1561

Thomas Davies, 1561—1573

William Hughes, 1573—1601

William Morgan, 1601—1604

Bishops of Bangor.

William Glyn, 1555—1559

Rowland Meyrick, 1559—1566

Nicholas Robinson, 1566—1586

Hugh Bellot, 1586—1596

Richard Vaughan, 1596—1598

Henry Rowlands, 1598—1616

Bishops of S. David's.

Henry Morgan, 1554—1560

Thomas Young, 1560—1561

Richard Davies, 1561—1582

Marmaduke } 1582—1594

Middleton, } 1582—1594

Anthony Rudd, 1594—1615

Bishops of Llandaff.

Anthony Kitchin, 1545—1566

Hugh Jones, 1566—1575

William Blethin, 1575—1591

Gervase Babington, 1591—1595

William Morgan, 1595—1601

Francis Godwin, 1601—1618

AS in English, so also in Welsh history the reign of Elizabeth is a momentous one. "No sooner did that wise and patriotic princess ascend the throne than she filled the Welsh bishoprics with native Welshmen; men to whom Wales in fact owes all the religious light she at present enjoys, and but for whom it is more than probable it would have been, at this moment, a Popish country, exposed to the superstitions and miseries of a neighbouring and kindred people." So wrote Bishop Richard Davies¹ in 1567.

1. Preface to Salesbury's Welsh Testament (1567.)

The first acts of the Queen were conspicuous for the tact and wisdom with which she governed ; and she succeeded for a time in balancing the hopes and fears of Anglicans and Romans. At her coronation she assisted₁ at Mass : shortly afterwards demurs. She had a crucifix in her own private chapel, with lights burning on either side. She spoke with disgust and horror of the marriage of priests ; but, at the advice of Burleigh, she gave way on this point. The petition in the Litany against " the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and al hys detestable enormities," was suppressed. The exile reformers return with safety, and the religious prisoners of the preceding reign are discharged. It, however, became soon evident that the Royal trumpet was to give no uncertain sound, for the Acts of Royal Supremacy and Uniformity were revived. Elizabeth, indeed, to further conciliate the Romanists, changed the title of " Head of the Church " in the Act of Supremacy to " Supreme Governor of the realm ;" and she declared that she laid no claim to authority over the Church, other than what was conceded of old to the Crown of England ;₂ and she allowed every one to take the oath subject to this explanation : and it was accepted in this sense by Convocation, and so embodied in Article XXXVII.

Out of 9,400 beneficed clergy in England and Wales, 189 only refused to take the oath of Royal Supremacy. Among the defaulters fourteen were bishops, and they were deprived. Kitchen of Llandaff submitted, and retained his bishopric. Bishop Glyn of Bangor died about this time, while Goldwell of S. Asaph and Morgan of S. David's refused

1. Strype's Annals, p. 29.

2. In the well-known case of *Cawdry* (Coke's Fifth Report p. 8), it was decided that the Act of Supremacy " was not a statute introductory of a new law, but declaratory of the old."

to conform, and were deprived. Goldwell fled to Rome. Among the State Papers in the Record Office are particulars dated 29th June, 1559, of his sudden departure. Notwithstanding that the ports were ordered not to let him pass, he succeeded in escaping safely to Rome, where the Pope appointed him to baptize Jews, and ordain such Englishmen as fled there for their religion. He sat at the Council of Trent in 1562, and died in Rome in 1581.

Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury, having died within a few hours of Queen Mary, Elizabeth nominated Dr. Parker as his successor ; and he was consecrated Dec. 17, 1559, in the presence of a goodly gathering. The ceremony took place in Lambeth Palace Chapel in due form, according to the Edwardian Ordinal. The consecrating prelates were, William Barlow, consecrated Bishop of S. Asaph, 1536 ; John Scory, to Rochester in 1551, and appointed to Chichester, 1552 ; Miles Coverdale, a sufragan bishop in the reign of Mary, appointed to Exeter in the reign of Edward, and John Hodgkins, suffragan Bishop of Bedford in the reign of Edward—four bishops, two of whom were consecrated in the reign of Henry, according to the Roman Ordinal, and the other two according to the Edwardian Ordinal. Barlow was the senior consecrating prelate.

Doubts have been thrown by Romanists on the validity of Parker's consecration, and through him on the validity of Anglican Orders because of the absence of any record of the consecration of the senior consecrating prelate, Barlow. But the absence of such records is not confined to the case of Barlow. This is notably so in the history of the consecration of Pole, Parker's immediate predecessor. Notwithstanding that Pole was recognized by the Pope and the bishops of England, there is no record of the consecration of the seven bishops who took part in his consecration. If

the absence of the record of consecration in one case invalidates Orders, it must do in the other. But the case in favour of Parker is stronger than that of Pole. Notwithstanding that the records of Barlow's consecration cannot be found, the names of those who consecrated Parker are known, and the validity of the orders of the other prelates who joined Barlow in the laying on of hands is beyond all doubt. Speaking of the absence of the record of Barlow's consecration, Lingard says: "it seems most unreasonable to suppose without direct proof that he remained unconsecrated." As to the fact that none of the prelates held any bishopric at the time of their consecrating Parker; that argument, used sometimes by Romanists, does not affect the question of the validity of Orders—a bishop is a bishop whether he has jurisdiction or not; and the first bishops of the Church of the Cymry in early times were itinerant not diocesan bishops. The omission of the words "for the office of a bishop" in the Edwardian Ordinal, is sometimes held by Romanists to invalidate the consecration of Parker. But the whole service concerns bishops; and there could be no mistake on the part of any one present, that it was episcopal consecration that was conferred. The words in the Roman Pontifical which accompany the imposition of hands are simply, "Receive the Holy Ghost," and the prayer which follows does not directly mention the office of a Bishop.

Apart from the fact that Bishop Barlow, the most prominent figure in this epoch of the history of Anglican Orders, was at one time Bishop of S. Asaph, the fact that he was descended from an old Welsh family adds historical interest to his name in connection with the history of the Church of the Cymry.

On Dec. 21st, 1559, Archbishop Parker. assisted by three

bishops, who had been exiles in the reign of Mary, consecrated Rowland Meyrick to Bangor, and the sermon was preached by Alexander Noel, chaplain to the Bishop of London. On January 21st, 1560, Richard Davies was consecrated to S. Asaph, and Thomas Yonge to S. David's, and John Jewell,—“the worthiest divine,” says Hooker, “Christ-tendom hath bred for the space of some hundreds of years,”—was consecrated to Salisbury at the same time.

The progress of the Reformation was slow in Wales, and the Church had not recovered from the violent convulsions of the preceding reigns. The storm of confiscation had so shattered her organization, that the bishops were like shipwrecked mariners, endeavouring to put together the scattered bulwarks of the ship. Parker issued an order in 1560, forbidding all his suffragans to ordain mechanics, “Many of whom by reason of their ignorance, or want of behaviour rendered themselves despised or hated by the people.”¹

The moral and religious condition of Wales roused Parliament to action, and in the year 1563 it passed an Act for translating the Bible and Prayer Book into the Welsh language. “Because,” says the preamble of the Act, “the English tongue is not understood of the most and greatest number of all her majesty's most loving and obedient subjects, inhabiting within her Highness Dominion and country of Wales, being no small part of this realm, who therefore are utterly destitute of God's Holy Word, and do remain in the like or rather more darkness and ignorance than they were in the time of Papistry.” We learn from this that languages are not revived, more than extinguished by Acts of Parliament, and this Act testifies to the living power of the Welsh language at this time, and disposes of the

1. Strype's Parker. Bk. ii, c. iv, p. 107.

theory lately advanced that the language was then at the point of extinction." The Act goes on to say :

" Be it therefore enacted.....That the Bishops of Hereford, Saint David's, Asaph, Bangor and Llandaff, and their successors, shall take such order among themselves for the soul's health of the flocks committed to their charge within Wales. That the whole Bible containing the New Testament and the Old, with the Book of Common Prayer, and administration of the Sacraments, as is now used within the Realm in English, to be truly and exactly translated into the British or Welsh tongue : and that the same so translated being by them viewed, perused and allowed, be imprinted to such number at the least, that one of either sort may be had for every cathedral, collegiate and parish church, and chapel of ease, before the first day of March, Ann. Dom., 1566." The Bishops of Hereford were, until recently, always included with the Bishops of Wales in all Welsh ecclesiastical matters, because of the proximity of Hereford diocese to Wales, and that Welsh was commonly spoken in those parts of that diocese adjacent to Wales ; and there are now old Welsh Bibles in some of the Herefordshire churches which bear unmistakeable marks of having been used. Strype says that Scory, Bishop of Hereford, when this Act was passed, knew Welsh. It was also enacted that the translations should be used in all churches : that the parson, or vicar of the parish shall bear the expenses of providing copies equally with his parishoners ; that the prices shall be fixed by the Bishops ; in default a penalty of £40 to be inflicted on the Bishops. In the meantime the Act provided that "at all times of Communion the Curate shall declare and read the Gospel and Epistle of the day in the Welsh Tongue, to his parishioners in every of the said churches, and that the Welsh Bible and Prayer Book shall remain in such convenient

place within the said churches, that such as understand them may resort all at convenient times to read and peruse the same."

Though this Biblical legislation for Wales was, as in the case of England, an assertion of the principle of the unrestricted use of the Word of God, and legalised an "Open Bible," it was practically of little more value than a public acknowledgment of the need of a Welsh Bible. The Act lacked a clause providing for the necessary funds to carry out the work. The imposing of a fine of £40 on each of the Welsh bishops in default of the completion of the work, was a different way of solving the financial difficulty to the action of the same Parliament in voting a thousand marks—nearly £700—towards the expense of publishing the English translation of the Bible. It is clear from the words of Salesbury that the Welsh Bishops had approached him on the question; and the Queen granted him a patent for the printing of the work. "Whereas I," says Salesbury, "by our most vigilant pastours, the Bishops of Wales, am called and *substituted*, though unworthy, somewhat to deale in perusing and setting forth of thys so worthy a mater."¹ Whether a fine of £40 was imposed on each of the Welsh Bishops does not appear; but it is certain that the provisions of the Act of Parliament were not carried out. John Waley of London, the co-patentee with Salesbury, mentioned in the Act, was not the printer of the first Welsh New Testament which appeared in 1567, but it was undertaken by a London printer of the name of Toy, a Welshman, at his own expense, which relieved the Welsh Bishops of the financial strain imposed upon them.

As might be expected, the convulsions of the violent changes enacted by Parliament in the form of public worship

1. Dedication of Welsh New Testament of 1576.

produced less uniformity than existed before the Book of Common Prayer was issued. The following extracts, taken from a paper, dated Feb. 14, 1564, "On the varieties in the service and administration used," and found by Stryper among the Secretary's papers, throw some light on the actual state of things.

~ "M.SS. Cecilian.

"Service and Prayer. | Some say the service and prayer in the chancel, others in the body of the church. Some say the same in a seat made in the church : some in the pulpit with their faces to the people. Some keep precisely the order of the book : others intermeddle Psalms in metre. Some say with a surplice : others without a surplice."

"Table.—The table standeth in the body of the Church in some places ;² in others it standeth in the chancel. In some places the table standeth altarwise distant from the wall. In some others in the middle of the chancel, north and south. In some places the table is joined. In others it standeth upon tressels. In some the table hath a carpet, in others it hath none."

"Administration of the Holy Communion, | Some with surplice and cap ; some with surplice alone ; others with none ; some with chalice ; some with a communion cup ; others with a common cup. Some with unleavened bread, and some with leavened bread." [He might have added, some with wafers some with common manchet bread.]"

"Receiving.—Some receive kneeling, others standing, others sitting."

1. Life of Parker. Book ii. xix. p. 152.

2. In Mallwyd Church, Merionethshire, Dr. John Davies, the rector, in the time of Laud, and in defiance of his injunctions, removed the Communion Table from the east end to the middle of the church, where it continued for a long time, and was not removed again to the east end till the last restoration of the church in the present century.

As regards Wales things were not in so confused a state. The return made by Bishop Richard Davies to Archbishop Parker in 1560 as to the state of the diocese of St. Asaph, shows that in that year there were only four clergymen in the whole diocese who favoured the Reformation. The following resolution passed at a S. Asaph Diocesan Council held Nov. 12, 1561, under the presidency of Bishop Thomas Davies, shows that the churches as to fixtures and ornaments had up to that time remained almost unchanged; "That every of them shall forthwith avoyd, remove and put away, or cause to be put away, all and every fayned relyques and other superstycons had withyn ther severall churches, and abolyse ther aulters yn the same within eight days."

The operation of this resolution was not confined to the Diocese of S. Asaph, for it was literally carried out in process of time throughout Wales. So completely was this done, and stone altars superseded by wooden tables, that the only vestige of Pre-Reformation ritual to be met with now is an occasional holy stoop, which held the holy water near the door way of the churches. This is more particularly the case in the outlandish districts of Wales, where Romanism died hard.

The letter of Bishop Robinson of Bangor to Cecil, dated 10th Oct., 1567, six years after the above resolution was passed in S. Asaph diocese, shows that the change from the old to the new state of things was very slow indeed.

"Touching the Welsh peoples receaving of the gospell I find by my small experience among them here that ignorance contineweth many in the dreggs of superstition, which did grow chiefly upon the blindness of the clergie, joined with the greediness of getting in so bare a country, and also upon the closing up of God's worde from them in an unknown

1. Preserved in the State Paper office Dom. Elizabeth 44, sec. 27.

tongue, of the which harmes, though the one be remedied by the great benefite of our graciouse Queen and Parleament, yet the other remayneth without hope of redresse: for the most part of the priestes are too olde (they saye) to be put to scholē. Upon this inabilite to teache God's worde (for there are not six y^t. can preache in yes three shierres).¹ I have found since I came to this country images and aulters standing in churches undefaced, lewde and indecent vigils and watches² observed, much pilgrimage goyng, many candels sett up to the honour of saintes, some reliques yet carried about, and all the countries full of bedes and knotts, besides diverse other monuments of wilfull serving of God."

Sir John Wyn³ speaks of Bishop Robinson as "an excellent scholar, and would have preached exceedingly well, especially when he did it without premeditation, for he then exceeded himself: but upon meditation (in my conceit) not so well, for I have heard him at both: at St. Paul's in London, in time of Parleament, and in the country often; whereof I can attribute no occasion, but that he was extreme choleric, and fearful withal, which in my judgment, put him out of his natural bias; withal he was a very wise man."

Among Parker's papers was found the manuscript of a famous sermon of Robinson,—at one time domestic chaplain to the Archbishop,—on which the Archbishop had written "*Concio N. Robinson.*" Strype⁴ gives the following extract from it, as a sample of Bishop Robinson's style, and his denunciation of the sins of the age:

"It is a pitiful case to see abroad in country and town (and we may see it daily, if we shut not our eyes) godly

1. Carnarvon, Anglesey, and Merioneths and Gwynedd, 1590.

2. This has reference to the "Gwylmabsant," or the Parish wake.

3. Gwydir Memoirs, p. 92.

4. Life of Parker, p. 234—Ed. 1711.

preaching heard without remorse or repentance ; lawful prayers frequented without any devotion. Fastings kept without affliction. Holy Days kept without any godliness. Almsgiving without compassion, *Lent* openly holden without any discipline. And what fruit of life may be looked for upon so simple a seed sowing?—He will not come to Church, but that the law compelleth him : He will not be partaker of the Most Reverend Mysteries, if he might otherwise avoid shame : He heareth the chapters, to jeer at them afterwards ; He cometh to the sermon for fashion's sake only. He makes himself minister to get a piece of a living. He sings stoutly for the stipend only.—Chrysostom eloquently lamenting the corrupt manners of his days, universally throughout all estates, high and low, rich and poor, man and wife, master and servant, judgeth all at length to spring of this root, that things in the Church were done, *as it were for fashion* sake only, as Church prayer, God's Word, Sacraments, Service, &c. And alas ! Among us for fashion's sake, men of worship have chaplains, peradventure to say service. For fashion sake simple men are presented to cures, and have the name of *parsons*. For fashion sake some hear the scripture, to laugh at the folly thereof. For fashion sake merchant men have Bibles, which they have never perused. For fashion sake some women buy Scripture Books, that they may be thought to be well disposed ; yea, for fashion sake many good laws are lightly put in execution, and so forth. And many carry Death on their fingers, (a ring with a Death's head) when he is never neigh their hearts. He abhorreth superstition, because he would live as he *list* : He is a Protestant, because of his lands ; I warrant you, he hateth the Pope, because he is married : He must needs be a favourer of religion, because of his promotions. From all these what ill fashions in manners and life must spring, we may easily conjecture.—I fear, (and pray God from my heart it be not so) many deal now with God's sincere religion

publicly professed for the which the Lord's name be blessed) as Dionysius the younger in his time did with philosophy : who indeed, tho' he maintained many philosophies at his house right well, and sometime reasoned of the Divinity, and conferred with them ; yet in his heart, as he said, he neither regarded nor esteemed them a haw ; saying, that by that means he might be thought of many a philosopher or a favourer of wisdom. Many think it enough to be thought Protestants. Here I forget the example of Saul —Honora me coram populo."



Such were the words of soberness and truth from the

eloquent lips of Bishop Robinson at Paul's Cross.¹

This sermon was preached by request of Archbishop Parker, about the time of Robinson's consecration, and resembles a typical Welsh sermon in style. Himself a Welshman, and a native of Conway, Robinson knew Welsh. He translated from Welsh to Latin the *Life of Gruffydd ap Cynan*—the MS of which, in the Bishop's own handwriting, is now among the Hengwrt MSS in the Peniarth Library. Bishop Robinson died in 1584, and was buried in Bangor Cathedral.

Bishop Thomas Davies of S. Asaph wrote to Cecil, Nov. 16, 1570,² that "he had reduced his diocese to better order—but some disorderly persons still remain, and therefore prays an ecclesiastical Commission for his diocese may be issued." Whitgift, Vice-President of the Commission, wrote to the Privy Council, Jan. 15, 1578, "That Lady Throgmorton, wife of Mr. Justice Throgmorton, and others heard Mass in the house of one John Edwards of Thirsk (Chirk). That those that said Mass were five, and so apparelled that they could not be known. That one Hughes was the chief sayer of Mass: and that he came from beyond seas: that he taught the son of Sir John Throgmorton: that these priests delivered to them that heard Mass, certain beads, called Pardon Beads, which were little beads of glass; and which they used to tie at the end of their other. And

1. "Paul's Cross was a kind of stone tent with leaden roof, at the north-east corner of Paul's Cathedral, where sermons were still, and had long been, preached in the open air. Crowded devout congregations gathered there, with forms to sit on if you came early. Queen Elizabeth used to tune her pulpits, she said, when there was anything great on hand, as governing persons now strive to tune the morning papers. Paul's Cross, a kind of *Times* newspaper, but edited partly by heaven itself, was then a most important entity."

Bishop Jewell, himself one of the preachers at Paul's Cross, used to say that it was a common thing to hear 6,000 sing there.—*Carlyle*.

2. *State Papers*, 1570, p. 396.

also another monument, which they called *Agnus Dei*. And that they ministered a corporal oath to such as they could draw to their Religion, and hearing of their Mass. That they christened children anew : and swore their parents that they should not come to Church. That they buried children and other persons by night, because they would not admit, nor receive the service now used. That upon S. Winifred's Day, Mrs. Edwards went to Halliwell (Holywell) by night, and there heard Mass in the night season. That they carried thither with them by night, in mails and cloak bags, all things pertaining to the saying of Mass. And that these Mass-sayers used their audience to receive Holy Water, and come to confession."¹ Strype² says that these parts held so tenaciously to the Roman ritual, that Whitgift applied for a special Commission to him and some Welsh Bishops to deal with the matter, which was granted ; and Edwards was brought before him and Robinson, Bishop of Bangor, and Hughes of S. Asaph, and imprisoned.

The Queen having failed, by her concessions, to strike the balance, the result was the separation from the Church of England of the extreme wings of both parties—the Puritans in 1568, and the Romanists in 1569. Many of the former resigned their cures, and objected to the surplice, and to all decoration of churches, as well as to the system of government and discipline of the Church, preferring the method authorized by Calvin. There was another section of the Puritans who wished to be perfectly independent, with ministrations suitable to all congregations, but entirely free from Romanism and Episcopacy. This section was led by Robert Brown, who disregarded the royal injunctions and was brought before the High Commission Court, but through

1. Strype's *Life of Whitgift* (Ed. 1718), p. 82.

2. *Ibid.*

the influence of his patron, the Duke of Norfolk—to whom he was domestic chaplain—he was allowed to minister to a large congregation of Calvinists in Norwich, who had settled there from Holland. Here he founded the first Dissenting community in 1568—and the term dissenter, in its modern sense, dates from the time of Elizabeth. Brown, however, returned to the Church, confessed his errors, and was appointed to the rectory of Thorpe-Achurch, Northamptonshire; but his system survived him, and his followers— or sectarians, a term derived from sequor, to follow—were at first called Brownists, just as the followers of Wesley were called Wesleyans, but are now known as Congregationalists or Independents—a system which found favour among a considerable number of Welsh people in the last century. It may not be out of place here to refer to the modern cry of “alien” raised against the Church of the Cymry, lately advanced for political purposes, but which has no historical foundation in fact. The cry comes with singular inappropriateness from Welsh Nonconformists.¹

To turn from the religious to the moral state of Wales about this time, Strype gives a revolting account of the morals of the Principality, and presents an object lesson illustrating the adage, “as priest, so people.” “This country,” says Strype,² “was very infamous for concubinage, adultery, and incest. It was common for married men to

1. Calvin was a foreigner, Brown, Whitfield, and Wesley were Englishmen, and never spoke or preached in the Welsh language, notwithstanding that their followers in Wales have adopted their systems and ways of thinking. On the other hand, the Church of the Cymry was founded at an early date, and boasts of a long array of Saints, Welsh in blood, language, and sympathies, reaching far back into antiquity. For this reason she has always been known and designated as the “Old Mother,” even by those outside her pale, and the relation of a mother to her children is not that of an alien. And if she is an alien, then the whole body of Welsh Methodism is an alien religion, for it is the child of the Church.

2. Eccl. Memorials (1822), ii. 387.

keep concubines. One had two children by his own sister. One kept two sisters, whereof one was married to another man. One kept his own sister. And many of these sinners were priests." This dreadful state of things was largely due to the enforced celibacy of the clergy ; which, while it was partially successful in its main object of concentrating the affections of the clergy on the see of Rome, it ruined their morals, and those of their flocks. Notwithstanding this, single life has doubtless peculiar opportunities of deep blessedness. Such examples of heroic Christian efforts as are seen in the lives of S. Bernard, Francis Xavier, and many others, afford ample proof of this. Our Church strikes the happy medium in her xxxind. Article : " Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, are not commanded by God's Law, either to vow the estate of single life, or to abstain from marriage : therefore it is lawful for them, as for all other Christian men, to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness."

The testimony of Strype, the historian of the Reformation, as to the deplorable moral condition of Wales, is confirmed by other contemporary witnesses—Richard Davies, Bishop of S. Davids, and Griffith Roberts, Canon of Milan—proving, beyond all doubt that the country stood in need not only of doctrinal but also of moral Reformation. An able and learned episcopal bench, and a zealous and God-fearing parochial clergy make the Church stronger than her enemies.

" God will not drown the world again with the waters of a deluge"; says Bishop Davies,¹ "but lust for the things of this world has drowned Wales at this day, and has driven away everything good and virtuous. For what is office in Wales in the present age but a hook, with which he who holds it

1. Letter addressed to the Welsh people prefixed to Salesbury's *Welsh Testament* of 1567.

draws to himself the fleece and the flesh of neighbours. What are learning, knowledge, and skill in the law, but thorns in the sides of neighbours, to cause them to stand aloof? Often, in Wales, the hall of the gentleman is found to be the refuge of thieves.....Therefore I say that were it not for the arms and the wings of the gentry, there would be but little theft in Wales." The testimony of Griffith Roberts¹ is to the same effect: "I hear," he says, "that there are many places in Wales, yea, whole counties without one Christian in them, most of them living like beasts, not knowing anything good, only they retain in their memory the name of Christ, without knowing what Christ is more than beasts. And in those places where they are Christians, they are only those who are common and poor who follow Christ. The gentry and the wealthy are without thought of faith in the world, neither hot nor cold: So (Christ says), "*I will spue thee out of my mouth*, as it is natural for a man to spue lukewarm water from his mouth. But in England the gentry are often good and show a good example in life and faith: the Welsh gentry give example to the poor and common people to be without any faith or conscience. Therefore, they will have to render an account in the day of reckoning, not only for their own shortcomings, but for their want of good example."

The founding of Jesus College Oxford in 1573, as essentially a Welsh College, marks a bright epoch in the history of higher education in connection with Wales. The founder—Hugh Price, D.C.L. Prebendary of Rochester and Chancellor of S. David's—was a native of Brecon, and had himself been educated at Oxford. A royal charter was granted June 27, 1573, by which it was prescribed that the College should be erected by the name of "Jesus College, within the Univers-

1. Preface to "Drych Cristionogol."

ity of Oxford, of Queen Elizabeth's foundation." Dr. Price settled some estates in Breconshire of the annual value of £160 to support the institution; and bequeathed upwards of £1500 for the erection of the College buildings, towards which the Queen also gave a quantity of timber from the forests of Shotover and Stour. From the time of its foundation to the present day this College, with its rich endowments, has played a prominent part in the history of the education and training of the Welsh clergy. Before the founding of Jesus College, Welshmen were not specially provided for at Oxford University; as was the case at S. John's College, Cambridge, founded in 1511, by Margaret Tudor, mother of Henry VII. This College was regarded by Welshmen as a Welsh College, and it was here that some of the most eminent Welshmen of this period were educated,—among others, Bishop Morgan, translator of the Welsh Bible, Bishop Vaughan of Bangor, translated to London, Bishops Thomas Davies and Bellott, Dean Goodman of Westminster, Archdeacon Prys.

The founding by Welsh Churchmen of Grammar Schools in Wales, such as that at Bangor in 1557 by Dr. Geoffrey Glynne, and that at Ruthin in 1595, by Dean Goodman of Westminster, and which have conferred inestimable benefits on Wales, dates from the period of the Reformation.



CHAPTER XXVIII.

A.D. 1567—1586.

WELSH TRANSLATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT AND OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER.

"It was the liturgy and the New Testament only, that the Reverend Father Richard, of pious memory, Bishop of S. David's, with the aid of William Salesbury, who above all men has deserved well of our Church, translated into the British tongue some twenty years ago. How greatly he benefited our countrymen thereby cannot easily be told."

BISHOP MORGAN.¹

UP to the year 1567, the only provision made for public worship in the Welsh language according to the reformed ritual, was the "Kynniver Llith a Ban o'r Ysgrythur lan ac a ddarlleir yr Eccleis pryd Commun, Y Sulieu a'r Gwylieu trwy'r vlwyddyn." This appeared in 1551, and was a translation into Welsh by Salesbury of the Epistles and Gospels read in churches during the time of Communion, and on Sundays and holy days throughout the year: and continued for sixteen years, the only portion of public worship in Welsh. This appears from a resolution passed at the S. Asaph Diocesan Council held in 1561. "After the pystyll and Gospell—yn Englyshe, the same to be read also in Welshe." To the monoglot Welshman, the English portions of the Prayer Book were as unintelligible as the Latin Service of the Church of Rome had been before this. The translation of the English Liturgy into Welsh was an extension of one of the leading principles of the Reformation, laid down in Article XXIV; "It is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the custom of the Primitive Church to have Public Prayer in the Church, or to administer the

1. Preface to Welsh Bible, A.D. 1588.

Sacraments in a tongue not understood of the people." And it was with the appearance of the Welsh liturgy that the work of the Reformation began really to take root in Wales. Without a Welsh Bible and Prayer Book, Wales must have continued a Roman Catholic country like Ireland ; where, monstrous as it sounds, the use of the Irish language was prohibited in the services of religion. Public prayers were to be said in English, whether understood by the people or not. Where the Irish clergyman was ignorant of English, prayers were to be said in Latin. The Church of Rome stepped in at this period, and turned this policy to her advantage by encouraging the use of the Irish language, and fostering the national sentiment ; and so grasped the affections of the Irish people. In Wales, no less than in England, a vernacular liturgy—the language of the Welshman's hearth and home, and the one in which he first learnt to lisp the Lord's Prayer on a mother's knee,—appealed to the affection and the reason of the masses. And the Book of Common Prayer, as its title indicates, asserted the scriptural principle of common worship. Among Romanists and Dissenters the functions of public worship devolve on the clergy—whether priest or officiating minister—and the people, although taking a part, do not take a *common* part with him. All the offices of the Book of Common Prayer are divided between priest and people in fairly equal proportions.

Morris Cyffin—the translator of Jewell's Apology into Welsh—a work which has passed through many editions and is still in circulation, and for style, elegance, and purity of diction, has not been surpassed by any subsequent writer in the Welsh language, a contemporary witness, thus speaks of the state of things in Wales before the appearance of a vernacular Bible and liturgy. "Before this it is easy to see how languid the state of the Welsh language was, when scarcely anything was heard but either wanton song, or some other

frivolous jeering without learning grace or substance in it. If by chance some bard should endeavour to spin coarsely a little theology in verse, he was deficient in many respects for want of learning and knowledge, pointing out to the people some old fable, or old women's stories of the neighbourhood; and those taken (for the most part) from the book of the lying monks, called *Legenda Aurea*, and which may be called the *Treatise of Lies*. I have in my possession a copy of such a Welsh song to show, and I am very sorry in my heart to think that many a soul of man has been deceived and ruined by means of such terrible folly. The New Testament was translated in the eighth or ninth year of the reign of our Lady Queen Elizabeth, but the printed expressions in it were so largely affected (*llediaith*) and incorrectly rendered, that the ear of a pure Welshman could not bear to hear them read. It was in this Testament that I saw a godly and learned letter by the Right Reverend Father, Richard, Bishop of St. Davids', to lead them to know the old Catholic faith and the faith of the Gospel of Christ: which letter the said Bishop wrote in clear, clever, and skilful Welsh, and doubtless it did much good to every Welshman that read it." The Welsh translation of the New Testament and of the Book of Common Prayer appeared in the year 1567—the joint work of Bishop Richard Davies and William Salesbury, on which they had been engaged at Abergwili Palace for upwards of three years. The whole of the New Testament was translated by Salesbury except the first Epistle to Timothy, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistle of S. James and the first and second Epistles of St. Peter. These were translated by Bishop Davies; and the Book of Revelation by Thomas Huet, Precentor of S. Davids' Cathedral. The translators of the first Welsh New Testament, did not confine themselves to one source, but followed partly the Greek Testament publi-

shed by Stephanus (1551), with Erasmus' Latin translation, and they probably availed themselves of the help of the Geneva Bible of 1560, and of Beza's Latin translation which appeared in 1565. Richard Davies was also the translator from the Hebrew into English, in what is known as Parker's Bible, of the Books of Joshua, Ruth, and the two Books of Samuel. Of Salesbury's scholarship Sir John Wyn says, that he "was one of the profound scholars and skilful linguists" of his time, "and especially an hebrecian, whereof there was not many in those days."¹ Though Salesbury was an inferior Welshman to Bishop Davies, he undertook the greater portion of the work of translation of the New Testament and Prayer Book. The diction of both is defective—a fatal hindrance to their popular use—and he frequently supplies the want by using purely English words. e.g. "*Vy monei* at y cyfnewidwyr," (Matt. xxv. 27); "*Ac mal y descendant* o'r mynyth," (Matt. xvii. 9.

Speaking of the public ministrations in Welsh about this time, John Penry writes :² "The second lesson³ was most evil read of the reader, and not understood of one among ten of the hearers. Our ministers, though never so ignorant, yet all understanding English, might easily remedy this by conferring the English with the Welsh translation; and so where they understand not their own tongue, the English might direct them, and their hearers. But they are far from taking this small pains. I would some of them in twenty years had learned to read Welsh at first sight." Penry's criticism of the Welsh reading of the clergy of his time must not be accepted as altogether a just one; for Sales-

1. Memoirs, p. 94.

2. Exhortation, p. ii.

3. This was read from Salesbury's Welsh Translation of the N.T. No translation of the O.T. had as yet appeared.

Davies and Salesbury had begun a Welsh translation of the O.T., and the latter had resided with the Bishop at Abergwili Palace, engaged on the work : and, according to Sir John Wyn, "they were very onward with it, and had gone through with it, if variance had not happened between them for the general sense and etymology of one word, which the Bishop would have to be one way, and William Salesbury another, to the great loss of the old British and mother tongue ; for being together they drew Homilies, Books, and divers Tracts in the British tongue, and had done far more if that unlucky division had not happened, for the Bishop lived five or six years after, and William Salesbury about twenty four, but gave over writing, more was the pity."

Of Bishop Davies' episcopate at S. David's, Sir John Wyn says : "He governed like himself, and for the honour of our nation (loving entirely the North Wales men), whom he placed in great numbers there, having ever this saying in his mouth ('Myn y viri Faglog') his familiar expression, "I will plant you North Wales men, grow if you list,".....O ! how my heart doth warm by recording the memory of so worthy a man ! He died poor, having never had regard to riches,"¹ at Abergwili Palace, on the 7th Nov. 1581, and was buried in the parish church² of Abergwili.

The first Welsh Prayer Book of 1567, clashed with the dialects of North and South Wales. A revised Edition appeared in 1586. There is a perfect copy in the S. Asaph Cathedral Library—from the title page of which our illustration is taken. This edition contained "An Explanation

1. Memoirs, p. 93

2. During the restoration of this church in 1850, the Bishop's grave was discovered, with his coffin and name on it. The spot was covered by an ordinary slab bearing the Bishop's name, and the year of his death. The late Bishop Thirlwall put up a mural marble monument, at his own expense, in the chancel of the church near the Bishop's grave, with a suitable inscription.

of certain wordes, being quarrelled withall, by some, for that in this translation they be otherwise written, then either the unlettered people, or some parts of the countrie sounde or speake them." This revised edition differs from its predecessor in having illustrations, with suitable stanzas in the Calendar at the head of each month, supposed to have been composed by Archdeacon Prys; and both editions



lacked the Ordinal and the XXXIX Articles of Religion, which were afterwards translated by Dr. John Davies, rector of Mallwyd, and inserted in all subsequent editions. The 1567 and 1586 editions of the Welsh Prayer Book have been attributed to Salesbury, because they are both after his stiff style of translation. The superior rendering, however, of

the Canticles and Psalms indicates that the translation was not the work of one man. These were probably translated by Edmund Prys, Archdeacon of Merioneth,—scholar and poet—and William, afterwards Bishop, Morgan. This and the former edition are both literal translations of the English. So literal that efforts have recently been made through Convocation to have an improved translation; but the antiquated words and phrases complained of have now, by long use, acquired a sacredness that even the best Welsh scholars would be reluctant to sanction a change. Some changes have however been made at different times to improve the translation of the Welsh Prayer Book, where purely English words were introduced by the original translators, to supply their defective vocabulary, more particularly in the designation of some of the offices, as for instance, “Y Drefn am *Visitation* y clat”; “Ffurf *Solemnization* neu drefnit Priodas”; “Bedydd *Public*”; “Bedydd *Preifat*.” The designation, however, of some of the Church’s Seasons is totally independent of the English Prayer Book, as, in the following instances. (1) “Christmas Day”—Welsh, “Dydd Nadolig Crist.” “Nadolig” being derived from the Latin natalicia. This season is also colloquially known as “Gwyliau y Nadolig,” or the “Festivals of the Nativity,” from probably the three Saint Days that immediately follow Christmas Day. (2) “The Epiphany, o’r the Manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles;” the Welsh Prayer Book has “Dydd Gwyl Ystwyll, neu’r Seren Wyl, sef Ymddatgudd Crist i’r Cenhedloedd.” While the title of the Festival in the English Prayer Book is derived from the Greek, the title in the Welsh Prayer Book is derived from the Latin Stella—Star, and is described as the “Star Festival,” in the Welsh Prayer Book.

1. The Psalms in the 1586 Edition were translated from the Hebrew, as appears from the front page of the Psalter, “Psallwyr nue Psalma David wedi ei Gamberaigan, i’n nesaf ac’ allit, a chadw’r bwyll i’r llythyren Ebrew: a’i dosbarth wrth y Drefn a ddarlleir in yr Ecclesi.”

(3) "Lent" is termed "Garawys" in the Welsh Prayer Book, and is probably derived from "*Quadragesima*," having reference to the Forty Days of Lent. (4) "Good Friday"—Welsh, "Dydd Gwener y Croglith," or "The Friday of the Lesson of the Cross." (5) Easter—Welsh, "Pasg;" the translators of the Welsh Prayer Book retained the old Jewish word Pasga—the Passover of the Old Testament. These terms retained in the Welsh Prayer Book may have been handed down orally from one generation to another from the period of the early British Church, and put in permanent form by their introduction into the Welsh Prayer Book. Nadolig, Garawys, Croglith, a'r Pasg, are terms now as colloquially common among Welsh people, as Christmas, Lent, Good Friday, and Easter are among the English. "Priest" is rendered "offeiriad"—the colloquial term in Wales, especially South Wales, for a clergyman. A term of the same derivation and import as offertory, still retained in the rubric of our Communion Service. Offeiriad is not "presbyter writ short." The Welsh equivalent to presbyter would be "hen-adur," or elder,

The first Prayer Book of 1549, which was not translated into Welsh—contained the following rubric in the Communion Office, "The Clearkes and people shall answe're 'Glory be to thee o Lorde,' after the priest or one appointed to reade the Gospel, shall saie, 'the holy Gospell written in the chapter.'" This was omitted in the second Prayer Book, and though now an unwritten rubric, the spirit and the letter of it is observed in most Welsh churches, by the singing, after the reading of the Gospel, of the following words set to this music—

"Diolch i ti, yr Hollalluog Dduw,
Am yr Efengyl, am yr Efengyl, am yr Efengyl Sanctaidd.
Pan oeddym ni mewn carehar tywyll du,
Ro'ist i ni oleuni, ro'ist i ni oleuni,
Ro'ist i ni oleuni nefol.
"Halleluia, Halleluia, Halleluia." Amen.

The words in English are,

"Thanks be to Thee, the Almighty God,
For the Gospel, for the Gospel, for the Holy Gospel,
When we were in prison of great darkness,
Thou gavest us light, thou gavest us light,
Thou gavest us heavenly light.
"Hallelujah, Hallelujah, Hallelujah." Amen.

1. Di - olch i Ti, yr Hol - lall - u - og Dduw, Am yr Ef - eng - yl, Am yr Ef - eng - yl.

2. Rân oedd - ym ni mewn car - char ty - wyll du, Rhoist in' ol - eu - ni, Rhoist in' ol - eu - ni.

Am yr Ef - eng - yl Sanct aidd Hal - e - lu - ta, Hal - e - lu - ta, Hal - e - lu - ta. A - men.

Rhoist in' ol - eu - ni' me fol.

The "Thanks for the Gospel," commonly known as "Diolch am yr Efengyl," is thrice offered, the Light thrice referred to, and the Hallelujah thrice repeated – asserting the doctrine of the Trinity in the work of man's Redemption. The words and music, both old, have been sung for ages in the Church of the Cymry, and are better known now in most Welsh homes than even the Gloria.



CHAPTER XXIX.

A.D. 1578—1588.

TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE INTO THE WELSH LANGUAGE.

“ William Morgan translated the Old Testament into the Welsh tongue before he was Bishop, and while he was Vicar of Llanrhaiadr yn mochnant, in the County of Denbigh.....He died a poor man. He was a good Scholar, both a Grecian and Hebrecean.”

SIR JOHN WYN.I

THE dispute between Bishop Richard Davies and William Salesbury delayed the translation of the whole Bible into Welsh upwards of twenty years ; when the work was taken in hand by William Morgan, a native of Penmachno,² Carnarvonshire, and a graduate of S. John's College, Cambridge where he continued after taking his degree in 1571, studying Hebrew, then a rare study : even Greek was then only a new introduction into our Universities. Morgan was University preacher in 1578. William Hughes, Bishop of S. Asaph, met Morgan at Cambridge about 1575, and then discovered that he was the man to translate the Bible into the Welsh language, and brought him to his diocese for that purpose, preferring him to the Vicarage of Welshpool in 1575 ; and from thence to Llanrhaiadr yn mochnant in 1578. Here Morgan at once applied himself to the work of translating the Bible into Welsh, devoting all his leisure hours to that laborious task—a work which he accomplished in nine years. The story of those years, with all their trials and anxieties, helps and encouragements, is told

1. Memoirs p. 96.

2. Tymawr, wherein he was born, is still shown.

with unaffected simplicity by Morgan himself, in his Latin Dedication of the completed Welsh Bible to Queen Elizabeth. After premising that the provisions of the Act of Parliament of 1563 for the translation of the Scriptures into Welsh remained unfulfilled, Morgan continues; "And this exposes our own sloth and indolence, that we could neither be moved by so grave a necessity, nor compelled by so beneficial a law from leaving so long, almost untouched, a matter of the very greatest possible importance. For it was the Liturgy with the New Testament only, that the Reverend Father Richard, of pious memory, Bishop of S. David's, with the aid of William Salesbury, who above all men has deserved well of our Church, translated into the British language some twenty years ago. How greatly he benefited our countrymen thereby cannot easily be told. For, besides that the common people, by comparing together the British and English Scriptures, became more conversant with the English tongue; he contributed very largely, by that labour alike to the teaching and the learning of the truth."

Morgan corroborates the testimonies of his contemporaries that Welsh preaching had long fallen into disuse, and that the theological character of the Welsh language had almost been obliterated. Before the invention of printing, and for a long time afterwards, the masses in Wales, as in other countries, were dependent for instruction in morals and religion on oral teaching. The "Stations of the Cross" in the public ministrations of the Church of Rome fairly illustrate the nature of oral teaching in pre-Reformation times. Few could read in those days; but all could listen to a sermon, and look at a picture. A permanence was given to some Gospel narratives among Welsh people by means of ballads written on Scripture themes, learnt out by heart and sang; and so orally handed down from father to son. This

kept up a dim religious light among the people. Ballad singing formed the staple entertainment of Welsh people and was a popular channel of instruction. Miracle Plays, of which the interludes of the last century were but poor representatives, were common enough in Wales before the Reformation. The eye and the ear were brought into full play: but the mind, the most powerful means of instruction, was untrained. The masses could not read and judge for themselves, much less could they obey the command, "Search the Scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of me." How apposite, as illustrating the spirit of the times expressed in the doctrine of mariolotry, is the exclamation of the woman in the Gospel, "Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the paps that thou has sucked." How apposite, on the other hand, as illustrating the spirit of the Reformation, is the reply of the Saviour, "Yea rather, blessed are they which hear the word of God, and keep it."

"For at that time," continues Morgan, "hardly any one was able to preach in the British tongue; because the terms in which the sacred mysteries treated of in Holy Scripture should be explained in that language, had either entirely disappeared—swept away as it were, in Lethean waters—or had lain hidden and buried under the dust of disuse; so that neither the teachers could clearly explain what they would, nor the hearers satisfactorily understand the things that were explained. Besides which, having been little used to the Scriptures, they were not able to distinguish between the testimony of the Scriptures and their exposition; so that when they crowded eagerly to hear sermons and attended to them diligently, they had to go away for the most part in uncertainty and doubt, like men who had found a rich treasure which they could not dig out—or who had been to a sumptuous banquet, which they were not allowed to

partake of—But now, through the exceeding goodness of Almighty God, and your Majesty's gracious care, and through the watchful forethought of our Bishops and the labour and industry of this your translator, provision has been made for having both the preachers more numerous and better prepared, and the hearers more easily taught. And as both these objects are dear to the heart of the pious,—so neither of them has hitherto corresponded to their wishes. For as much as that earlier Testament, which is an undeveloped prediction, a veiled type, an unerring witness of the Later—has up to the present time been wanting to our countrymen; how many examples alas! lie half hidden! how many promises are concealed! how many consolations are obscured! how many the counsels, exhortations, warnings and testimonials to the truth,—are unwillingly missed by our people, whom your Majesty reigns over, cares for, and loves; and whose eternal salvation, hateful to Satan only and his Satellites, has hitherto been grievously endangered, seeing that every one lives by faith, and faith cometh by hearing; and hearing by the Word of God; which hitherto lying hid in a foreign tongue has awakened but a slight echo in the heart of our fellow countrymen,”

Morgan undertook the work of translation in obedience to “the appeals of good men”—the chief among them being his own Bishop—William Hughes—“When therefore,” he says, “I saw that the translation of the rest of the Scriptures was so useful, nay so necessary (though long deterred by the sense alike of my own weakness and the greatness of the subject, as well as of the evil affection of certain persons), I yielded to the appeals of good men, and allowed myself to be persuaded to undertake this most important, troublesome, and, to many, unacceptable work.”

Apart from the arduous work of translating single-handed

the Bible into the Welsh language,—the magnitude of which was in itself sufficient to discourage the most zealous of spirits,—“the evil affection of certain persons,” which Morgan bewails, was an additional disheartening element in the work he had undertaken : and refers to the opposition he experienced in different ways from unfriendly persons, not the least among them being some ill-disposed parishoners, who laid charges of incompetency, among other things, against him before Whitgift, Archbishop of Canter-



Archbishop Whitgift.

bury. The Primate summoned Morgan to Lambeth, where he made so favourable an impression, that the Archbishop appointed him one of his Chaplains, and lovingly urged him to proceed with the translation, generously undertaking at the same time to defray, out of his own purse, the cost of publishing the completed work. This unpromising, but eventful occasion of Morgan's visit to Lambeth led him, in the providence of God, to the very

source of help which he so much needed and desired. Had it not been for this generous help—a help based on a knowledge of Morgan's qualifications, of Wales and its people,—for Whitgift was at one time Vice-President of the Council for the Marches of Wales, the duties of which brought him frequently into the Principality—the cost of printing would have deterred Morgan from proceeding further than the Pentateuch : so he says in his graceful acknowledgments of his obligations to the Primate. “ But hardly had I taken it in hand, when overwhelmed by the difficulty of the task and the greatness of the expense, I should have given in at the very threshold, so to say, and brought only the Pentateuch through the press, had it not been that the most Reverend Father in Christ, the Archbishop of Canterbury—that most excellent patron of literature, most keen champion of the Truth, and most prudent guardian of Order, and seemliness (who from the time when he presided, under your majesty, with so much prudence and justice, over your British subjects, and observed their obedience and intelligence, has ever regarded them with favour, as indeed they do ever sing his praises) prevailed upon me to proceed : and helped me with his purse, his influence, and his counsel. And following his example, other good men have given me very great assistance. And when moved, supported and ever aided by their encouragement, industry and labours, I had not only translated the whole of the Old Testament, but had also revised the New, which abounded largely in an un-emended orthography, I hesitated in doubt as to whom it was right and fitting I should dedicate them. And when I think of my own unworthiness and look upon the exceeding splendour of your Majesty, in whom I recognise a bright reflection as it were of Him, whose vice-gerent you are : I dread to approach a splendour so sacred. But on the other hand the

i. e. as Vice-President of the Marches of Wales.

dignity of the subject itself, which of its own right as it were claims your patronage, inspires me with a new courage. And in the next place—seeing you have already deigned with such a righteous, and royal will to take under your charge the one Testament in its British garb,—I hold it would be unwise, wrong, and ungrateful to seek a different patron to the other.”

There were not wanting in Morgan’s time, men who were of opinion that the translation of the Bible into Welsh was a mistake ; and the translator experienced considerable opposition to the work on the ground that a Welsh Bible would prolong the existence of the language, and form a barrier to the union of the English and Welsh peoples. Though no systematic attempt was made in his time to crush out the Welsh language, as in a subsequent period, a feeling evidently existed in the minds of some that it should die, and that the Welsh people should be taught through the medium of the English language, or not taught at all. Dr. Morgan, as he was familiarly known in Wales, meets these objections effectually with the following forcible arguments. “And if for the sake of preserving agreement any maintain that our countrymen, should learn the English tongue, rather than that the Scriptures should be translated into our own : I would have them in their zeal for unity, to be more careful lest they hinder the truth, and more anxious, while promoting concord, not to put religion on one side. For although it is much to be desired that the inhabitants of the same island should be of the same speech and language ; it must equally be born in mind, that to effect this end, so much time and trouble is required, that to be willing, much less to suffer God’s people, to perish in the meantime from hunger of His Word —were both barbarous and cruel. Moreover, there can be no doubt that unity is more effectually promoted by similarity and agreement in religion,

than in speech Besides, to prefer unity to piety, expediency to religion and, a kind of external concord among men, to that heavenly peace which the Word of God impresses on men's souls, shows but little piety. Last of all how unwise are they, who fancy that the prohibition of the Word of God in the mother-tongue can avail anything towards the learning of another. For, unless religion be taught in the vulgar tongue, it will be hidden and unknown. For where one is ignorant of the thing itself, he cannot know its use or sweetness, or its worth, and he will undergo no trouble to acquire it. Wherefore your Majesty is implored not to be prevented (which I am sure you will not be) from enlarging your benefits to those whom you have begun to bless: but that you will gratify with the Old Testament those whom you have enriched with the New, and will grant to those to whom you have given the one breast of truth, the other also; and will endeavour to perfect what you have been zealous to effect—viz: that all your subjects may hear in their own language the wonderful works of God, and that every tongue may praise Him."

Morgan's defence of the Welsh Bible is exactly on the same lines as the pleadings advanced by our Church Missionary Societies for providing Bibles in all the languages of the world. Or, in other words, the principle of the motto of the British and Foreign Bible Society.—"*Bibl i hawb o bobl y Byd*"—(a Bible for all the people of the world)—a Society, it is worthy of note, called to existence in 1804, by the want of Welsh Bibles. Had this, or the older Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, founded in 1698, been in existence in Morgan's time, he would not have experienced the difficulty of publishing his translation. Happily, Archbishop Whitgift—with that large heartedness and sound judgment which so distinguished him, and raised him above all prejudice

and considerations of political expediency in religious matters, against which Morgan, with his help, successfully battled,—became to Wales in the hour of her need, a Bible Society in himself; for he practically endorsed all the pleadings advanced by Morgan that a vernacular Bible was the best of all means for promoting Christian Knowledge among Welsh people. Born and bred among the common people, and as a parish priest, living and moving among them, Vicar Morgan well knew the religious wants of his country. The result of that experience, and of his insight into the character of his countrymen, was a close application of nine years to the work of translating the Bible into Welsh. The ground into which the good seed of the Word was cast, was ready to receive it, as its subsequent growth, and the abundant fruit it bore, amply testify.

Morris Cyffin, a contemporary of Morgan, speaking of the opposition to the Welsh translation of the Bible says: "A clergyman from Wales, at an Eisteddfod, when mention was made of giving permission to print Welsh, said it was not right to allow any kind of printing in the Welsh language; but he would have the people learn English and lose their Welsh, remarking further that the Welsh Bible would do no good but much harm Could the devil himself say better? But who does not know how impossible it is to bring all the people to learn English, and to lose their Welsh, and how deplorable that innumerable souls should be lost."

The unexpected often happens. So it was in the history of the publication of the first Welsh Bible and Morgan's enemies were those of his own household, for the opposition to his work came, strange to relate, from Welshmen. The Queen and the Archbishop favoured it; and had it not been for Whitgift's generous sympathy, Morgan assures us, that

there would have been no Welsh Bible, at least in his time. The combined action of both—and the memory of their names should be equally cherished by Welshmen—has been fully justified by the results. It seems strange that Morgan should be thus wounded in the house of his friends, when Wales and the Welsh were at this time in favour at Court. The poet Spenser, who flourished in Morgan's time studied Welsh history, traditions and character; and his favourable representation of them was doubtless acceptable in high places. Shakspeare, who was a courtier, has done the Welsh character the honour of an introduction into his plays. The following words of Canon Griffith Roberts of Milan, written in 1584, point, however, to the direction from which the opposition to the Welsh Bible came: "You will find some as soon as they see the river Severn or the church steeples of Shrewsbury, and hear an Englishman say in his language, "good morning," who will begin to forget their Welsh and speak much in broken language: their Welsh is Anglicised, and their English is too Welshy."

"The Welsh gentry," says Archdeacon Prys, the friend of Morgan, "had by this time formed such associations with England, that their national customs had worn away to a great extent.....Prejudice was entertained against the Welsh language, and means were adopted, though ineffectual, to abolish it altogether." On the completion of his translation of the Welsh Bible in 1587, Morgan, in that year, went to London with the manuscript to superintend the passing of the work through the press. This occupied a whole year. During this time he was the guest of that eminent and learned Welshman, Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster—a personal friend of Archbishop Whitgift, and of Lord Burleigh. He was one of the chief ecclesiastics of the reign of Elizabeth, for the furtherance and consolidation of the Re-

formation, and distinguished himself by his zeal as a member of the High Commission Court, which made him unpopular, and stood in the way of his preferment to the bishopric of London in 1570. Parker recommended him to the Queen in 1575, for the bishopric of Norwich, in preference even to Whitgift, and others, as "superior in learning life and governance," but without success. Goodman had incurred the displeasure of Leceister, which proved a barrier to his preferment. About the year 1584, his name has again mentioned for the sees of Worcester, Chichester and Rochester. He died in 1601, aged 73 years, and was buried at Westminster Abbey. Christ's Hospital, at Ruthin—his native place—was founded by him in 1590, and the Grammar School of that town in 1575, and endowed with the tithes of Ruthin and Llanrhydd, which he redeemed at a high price from the lay-impropriator.

Of the kindness which he received from Dean Goodman, during the time he was his guest at the Deanery House, Westminster, Morgan speaks in the following terms, in the Dedication ; "Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster, an eminently good man in fact as in name—and of most devoted piety, who as I read over again my translation, gave me such diligent attention that he very greatly helped me by his labour and advice ; presented me with several books and granted me the use of all his others ; and for a whole year, while this book was in the press, entertained me hospitably, with the consent of his colleagues, a kindness indeed which the most Reverend Archbishop, of whom I have already made mention in my letter, most generously offered, but which the river Thames, which cuts off and separates his house from the press, compelled me to decline,"

Morgan hailed with just pride and inexpressible joy ,the

completion and publication of the great work of his life in 1588. He was then 41 years of age. Eight hundred copies only were printed; in a quarto volume, of black letter type. Before leaving London for Llanrhaidr, Morgan presented the Dean and Chapter of Westminster with a copy of this



Guilielmus Morgan, sacre Theologie professor, hanc
Britannicam sacrorum Bibliorum Translationem, anni
Westmonasteriensis bibliothecae dono scilicet, vicesimo
die mensis Novembris, Anno reformationis humani
generis, Milleimo, quingentesimo octogesimo octavo
! אלה בך כבוד יתה יאמר גרשון

Welsh Bible, which is still in the Abbey Library, and is interesting and valuable above all other existing copies of the work. Our illustration of its title page is from a photograph taken by permission of the Dean of Westminster.

Morgan in a postscript to his Dedication makes the following acknowledgment of literary assistance.

"The names of those who have more especially endeavoured to promote this work: "The Reverend Fathers, the Bishops of S. Asaph¹ and Bangor², who have both of them lent me the books I asked for, and have condescended to examine, weigh, and approve of the work. Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster. So also these gave help not to be slightly spoken of—David Powell, Doctor of Divinity³; Edmund Prys, Archdeacon of Merioneth; Richard Vaughan, Provost of S. John's Hospital, Lutterworth."⁴

Dr. Morgan's translation of the Bible was the legacy of the Reformation to Wales. From a literary point of view, it enriched and fixed the diction of the Welsh language, which was in a state of transition in Morgan's time. The difference between the Welsh of the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries is probably greater than the corresponding difference in English. Notwithstanding the many difficulties which stood in the way of its translation, the Welsh Bible has always been regarded as the most valuable book in the language; and there can be little doubt that the Welsh translation is a nearer approach than the English is to the original Hebrew. Morgan in many instances has anticipated the corrections of the last English revision. The late Bishop Thirlwall of S.

1. William Hughes, Bishop of S. Asaph, 1573—1601.

2. Nicholas Robinson, Bishop of Bangor, 1566—1586.

3. Vicar of Ruabon; Prebendary of S. Asaph; Rector of Llanfyllin; Vicar of Meifod. Died in 1598, buried in Ruabon parish Church.

4. Afterwards successively Bishop of Bangor, 1595; Chester, 1597; and London 1604. He died in 1607, and was buried in Bishop Kemp's Chapel, S. Paul's Cathedral.

David's, himself the chairman of that Revision Committee, used to say that he never decided finally on the correct rendering of a doubtful passage without consulting the Welsh Bible. The readings and renderings preferred and recommended by the American Committee in the last revision of the English New Testament, have in many cases been anticipated by Morgan in the Welsh Bible.

Since Morgan's time, the Welsh Bible has become, for all practical purposes, the Welshman's Dictionary. It is the one book of his library, regarded with a veneration almost amounting to superstition; its precepts have taken deep root in his mind and affection, and have made his country comparatively free from crime. The Bethels, Bethesdas, Calvaries, Horebs, Moriahs, and Jerusalems of Wales show how saturated with Biblical literature the Welsh mind is. In its moral and religious influences the Bible became pre-eminent in every Welsh home, because, to use Dr. Morgan's words, "of the heavenly peace which the Word of God impresses on men's souls." The sick man is afraid to die without *the* Book within his reach: its prayers and its psalms are known by heart to thousands of young and old. Welsh hymnology is saturated with its language and precepts. The Welsh Bible made the most illiterate peasant more familiar with the history, habits, customs and geography of the Holy Land, than with the localities of his native Wales. Many a Welsh peasant knows much more of Zion, Moriah, Carmel and Calvary, than he does of Snowdon, Cader Idris, Carnedd Llywelyn, and Carnedd Ddafydd. Welsh people who know nothing of the Lake District, or of the Rhine, are at home on the Sea of Galilee, and the River Jordan. Many a Welsh peasant, who has scarcely ever been outside the boundary of his own parish, never seen London, knows every spot in the Jerusalem of the Bible; and men who know nothing of

architecture can tell you of the pattern of the temple. All this has given a tone and colouring to the post-Reformation literature of Wales, which has been, very largely, from the time of Morgan to the present day, in the hands of the middle and lower classes. To have been the excavator of the channel through which the blessings of an open Bible, in the language understood of the people, have so abundantly flowed, is the highest of all honours, any man can aspire or attain to on this earth of ours—be he king or peasant. To William Morgan belongs that honour in an eminent degree. His name stands in the same relation to the Welsh language as the name of Shakspeare does to the English. The one, by his translation of the Bible, infused new life into the Welsh language and its literature; the other by his plays did the same service to the English language and its literature. Latin was then the language of the learned and the polite, and of all public documents in England, and the one used by many writers—Morgan among them, as evidenced in his Latin Dedication of the Welsh Bible. Evidence of the same thing may be seen in the old monumental Latin inscriptions in our churches, while the grave stones have English inscriptions--The English language occupies a similar position in Wales now as the Latin did in England in Morgan's time. Monumental inscriptions inside the churches of Wales are almost exclusively in English—representing the upper classes, while the tomb stones have, for the most part, Welsh inscriptions, especially in country districts.

Queen Elizabeth, at the recommendation of Archbishop Whitgift, appointed Morgan to be Bishop of Llandaff, in 1595. His preferment was a just recognition of his work. "The translation of the Bible he dedicated with a Latine Epistle to Queen Elizabeth, for which work he was rewarded with

the Bishoprick of Llandaff first, and afterwards with that of St. Asaph"¹

In the same year that the Welsh Bible was published appeared the Martin Marprelate Tracts, written by a club of witters who carried with them a private press to prevent detection, and there was then no liberty of unlicensed printing. These tracts were notorious for their violent and bitter attacks on the Church of England. John Penry, a Welshman, was suspected of being the writer of the tract signed "Martin Marprelate," and which gave the title to the movement. But it was never proved that he had any connection with these tractarians. The Privy Council issued a warrant in 1590 for Penry's apprehension, on the charge of being an enemy of the State; whereupon he fled to Scotland, returning to England 3 years later, when he was apprehended in hiding at Stepney. The papers found in his possession at the time of his apprehension formed additional grounds of charges against him: but were not, according to the ruling of Lord Keeper Pickering, libellous. He was unjustly condemned, and executed on the 25th May, 1593. In a letter to Lord Burleigh, written only seven days before his execution, Penry says: "I am a poor young man, born and bred in the mountains of Wales. I am first, since the last springing up of the Gospel in this latter age, that laboured to have the blessed seed thereof sown in these barren mountains."

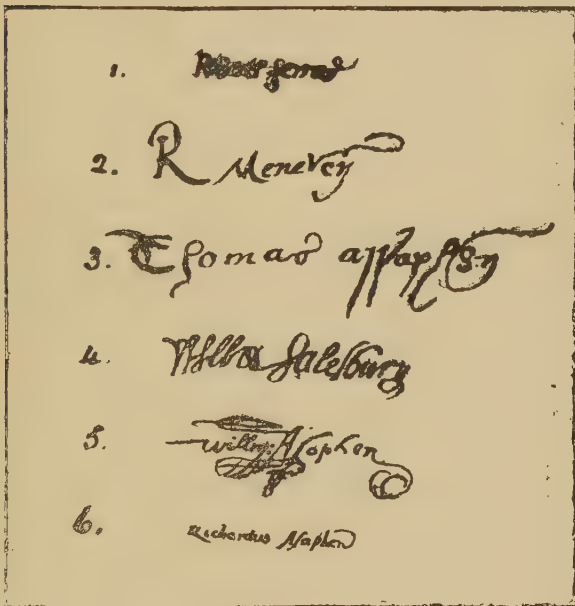
However much we may deplore the miscarriage of justice in putting Penry to death, he can hardly be considered a martyr in the sense of being a witness to the truth, for the charge for which he suffered was high treason. Though

1, A Wood, *Athen.* 1. col. p 615.

a man of undoubted piety, he was a hasty, hot Welshman, and was not always careful to weigh and measure his words. For instance, his claim to have been "the first who laboured to have the blessed seed of the Gospel" sown in Wales will not stand scrutiny, in the face of the facts that when Penry was only eight years old, Salesbury had published his Welsh New Testament in 1567; the Welsh Book of the Common Prayer and the whole Welsh Bible followed. And what shall we say of the efforts of all the Bishops and Clergy of Wales before Penry's birth, and during his lifetime? There is no evidence to show that Penry knew Welsh, or that he ever preached in that language. His ministrations were in English, and his efforts to sow "the seed of the Gospel" in Wales must have been of the most feeble nature, and would have died out had it not been for the powerful and successful efforts of the Church, and that through the medium of the "language understood of the people."

Archbishop Whitgift and Bishop Morgan, the two greatest benefactors of Wales in sowing the seed of the Gospel among its barren hills, died in the same year—1604—the former on the 29th February, and was buried in Croydon parish church—the latter on the 10th September, and was buried in the chancel of his cathedral church of S. Asaph. The exact spot of Morgan's grave is not known, neither was there an inscription of any kind to his memory there till 1888—the tercentenary year of the publication of the Welsh Bible—when a national memorial was erected in front of the Cathedral. No portrait exists to hand down to posterity the form and features of this great Bishop: but we have the testimony of his contemporary, Sir John Wyn, that "he died a poor man: and this is corroborated by a document now in the Public Record Office, entitled, "Inventorie of all and singular the goodes and chattells of the Reverend father in god

Willim late Bishopp of St. Asaph, that were seized by auctorytie and commission of the Right Hō Thomas erle of Dorsit, lord Treasurer of England to his mat^r use and for the paymt. of the Debtes dewe by the said late Bishopp"; From this document we learn the fact; "Redy money



founde in the said Bishopp's purse when he died iiii. viiid." The only personal relic of Bishop Morgan is his autograph on a Clerical Subsidy dated 1602, and now in the Public Record Office, and reproduced among other autographs in our illustration.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE SIGNATURES.

1. Robert Ferrar, Bishop of S. David's—1548--54.
2. Richard Davies, Bishop of S. David's—1561—82.
3. Thomas Davies, Bishop of S. Asaph—1562—73.

The signatures of the two last named Bishops are with those of several other Bishops appended to the xxxviii. Articles of Religion of 1562. The original document is now in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Bishop Richard Davies' signature appeared immediately after that of Bishop Jewell of Salisbury, and Bishop Thomas Davies is the last of the nine Bishops who subscribed to them. The Articles put forward in 1562 were reduced to thirty eight in number, by the omission of the twenty ninth, the title of which was "Impii non manducant Corpus Christi in usu cænæ," and the famous clause, "Habet ecclesia ritus statuendi jus et in fidei controversis Auctoritatem," was added to the twentieth Article.

4. William Salesbury, the translator, with Bishop Davies of the Welsh N. T. and Book of Common Prayer of 1567. From an original MS. found at Gwysaney, near Mold.

5. William Morgan, Bishop of S. Asaph, 1601-- 4. From a Clerical Subsidy, dated 1602, now in the Public Record Office.

6. Richard Parry, Bishop of S. Asaph, 1604—24. From an original Letter to Cecil, dated January 12th, 1610, in the Public Record Office.

CORRIGENDA.

Page 224, for misnamer *read* misnomer.

Page 255, for 1459 *read* 1549.

CHAPTER XXX.

JAMES I. 1603—1625.

ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.

Richard Bancroft,	1604—1611.
George Abbott,	1611—1633.

BISHOPS OF ST. ASAPH.

Richard Parry,	1604—1624.
John Hanmer,	1624—1629.

BISHOPS OF BANGOR.

Henry Rowlands,	1598—1616.
Lewis Bayly,	1616—1632.

BISHOPS OF ST. DAVID'S.

Anthony Rudd,	1594—1615.
Richd. Milbourne,	1615—1621.
William Laud,	1621—1627.

BISHOPS OF LLANDAFF.

Francis Godwin,	1601—1618.
George Carleton,	1618—1619.
Theophilus Field,	1619—1627.

AT the accession of James I. all religious parties sought the King's patronage; but he soon showed that he intended governing on the same lines as Elizabeth had done. The Puritans presented the Millenary Petition, in which they pleaded for a revision of the liturgy. With this object the king summoned the Hampton Court Conference, which practically came to nothing. James, in return for the peaceful acquiescence of the Roman Catholics in his accession, had promised that the penal statutes of Elizabeth should not be enforced; but he found public opinion in England much too strong against their abolition. For remitting fines imposed on Recusants, the king was accused of fraternizing with Romanists; and there was such a large influx of Jesuits into the kingdom about this time, that it was rumoured that James had actually been received into the Church of Rome: and he was obliged to enforce the recusancy fines. The bad feeling created by this found expression in the "Gun Powder Plot." Thomas Williams, of Trefriw, the learned Welsh lexicographer and physician, a Roman Catholic, was proceeded against in the Correction at Bangor, May 23, 1606, by the

name of "Thomas Williams, alias Dns. Thomas Williams de Trefryw, eo quod recusat venire ad ecclesiam." And Nov. 12, 1807, at a metropolitical Correction, "Ds. T. Williams recusans excommunicatur." Bishop Humphreys of Bangor—(1689—1701) relates how he had heard from his father that the Lady Bodvel told him when her father, Sir John Wyn of Gwydir, was about leaving home for the meeting of the Parliament when the Gunpowder Plot was discovered. 5. Nov. 1605, Dr. Thomas Williams dissuaded him from going up that session. It was afterwards inferred from this that he had some knowledge of the Plot, and was anxious to save his friend and neighbour from being one of its victims.

The death of Bishop Morgan, the translator of the Bible into Welsh, is an event to be recorded in the history of the Welsh Church, and happened at the beginning of the reign of James I. We are indebted to one Thomas Rowlands, a contemporary Vicar Choral of St. Asaph, for the following particulars respecting this great prelate's passing away—and every information, of whatsoever kind, respecting so great a benefactor of his country is valuable and interesting. "Md. Yt upon Munday morning being Xth day of September, 1604, between the hours of iii. and iv. of the clock in the morning of the same day, Wm. Morgan (B'pp. of St. Asaph who succeeded Wm. Hughes late B'pp there) departed out of this transitory life and died at his house in St. Asaph, and was buried the 11 day of Sept. aforesaid."¹

It is a mistake to suppose that there was any undue haste attending the burial of Bishop Morgan, prompted, it is said, by Sir John Wyn, between whom and the good Bishop there was a settled dispute. It was no uncommon custom in those

1 "Y Cwitta Cyfarwydd," p. 240.

days to bury on the day following death. Sir John Wyn himself was so buried.²

The administration of church patronage in Wales was much on the same lines in the time of James as in that of Elizabeth ; but all the Bishops of Wales in James' reign were not conversant with the Welsh language. This was more especially the case as regards the sees of S. David's and Llandaff. The Stuarts never of set purpose excluded Welshmen from Bishoprics ; but, like the Tudors, had both the desire and the capacity to recognize Welsh sentiment, and so secured the loyalty of the people of Wales.

The two most important events, from a literary point of view, in the history of the Church of the Cymry during this reign were the publication of the Revised Version of Bishop Morgan's Bible in 1620 ; and the publication of the Welsh Metrical Version of the Psalms in 1621. The former was the joint work of Bishop Richard Parry—(1560—1624)—and his learned Chaplain, Dr. John Davies—(1570—1644)—rector of Mallwyd, and was published at their joint expense. Parry, for whose learning James had a special regard, succeeded Bishop Morgan in the see of St. Asaph from the Deanery of Bangor. Davies published a Dictionary of the Welsh language in 1632, which continued for 200 years the standard work of the kind, till it was superseded by Dr. Owen Pughe's dictionary in 1803. Dr. Davies was the first to translate into Welsh the XXXIX Articles of Religion. He was admitted of Lincoln College, Oxford, as reader of Bishop Lombard's Sentences ; and remained at the University about four years, when he became Canon of St. Asaph in 1612. His piety, learning, devotion and patriotism mark Dr. Davies as one of the most prominent leaders in the religious history

2. Arch. Camb. Oct. 1864, p. 322.

of Wales during this and the following reign. He was buried in Mallwyd Church, where a monument was put up to his memory in 1844—the bicentenary year of his death—by public subscription. The Revised Version of the Welsh Bible published in 1620, known as Bishop Parry's Bible, is the one now in use; and is nine years later than the English Authorized Version. In his Latin Dedication of the work to James I, Bishop Parry says that Morgan's Bible had become so worn out by 32 years use, that no one else seemed prepared to undertake the work of publishing another edition, and that he and his friend Dr. Davies had undertaken spontaneously the work of revision, and the expense of publication. In this work of revision Parry and Davies had the benefit of the Authorized English Version; but there is ample internal evidence that this revision, as well as the translation on which it is based, are both independent of the English Version. Bishop Parry died Sept. 26, 1624, and was buried in St. Asaph Cathedral.

Next in importance, and in its deep and far reaching influence on the religious life of Wales, was the publication of the Welsh Metrical Version of the Psalms, the sole work of Archdeacon Prys (1540—1623). Tradition has it that he prepared one or more Psalms for each Sunday, which he taught the parishioners to sing during the week. Very few could read then, but the illiterate could learn the words out by heart, and the music by ear. In his "Letter to the thoughtful Reader," prefixed to this work, the Archdeacon says: "There are three reasons why the holy Psalms were not translated to any one of the twenty-four metres. One is, that I could not presume to tie Holy Writ to so confined a metre; lest in trying to keep the metre, I should lose the meaning and the spirit, and so sin against God, for the sake of pleasing man. The second is, the Word of God is to be

sung in the holy congregation of many assembled together ; to praise God with one voice, with one mind and with one heart ; which they can do in this metre. and only one could sing a poem or an ode. The third reason is, all children, servants, and illiterate people can learn a stanza of a carol, while only a scholar could learn a poem, or other skilful song. And as it belongs to every Christian to know the will of God and praise him, I abandoned the art, for every one is bound to spend his talent for the best."



Archdeacon Prys.¹

The archdeacon believed in congregational singing as part of public worship ; and he introduced an entirely new mode of singing into the religious services of Wales. Though not a hymn writer in the strict sense of the word, his sacred poetry being confined to the Psalms ; he laid the foundation of Welsh hymnology. He turned into the same metre in Welsh, the Canticles, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments. The Gloria in Excelsis, and a "Hymn to be sung at funerals," which is a paraphrase of the principal portions of the Burial Service. To a people like the Welsh passionately fond of music, the rendering of the Book of Psalms and the Canticles in easy metre and

1. Our portrait is from a picture, unauthenticated, in the possession of the late Archdeacon (Evans) of Merioneth. Two features, however, in the portrait are warranted by the description by himself of his own person, in one of his poems in answer to William Cynwal, i.e., the two rough partings of his long hair.

"Dau gydrym gwyllt ym gwallt laes."

The Archdeacon, after the fashion of the bards, and, indeed, of the clergy at that time, wore long hair with two partings, as shown in the portrait.

hymnal form, brought Scripture truth and praise within the appreciation of the most illiterate. Now, that the liturgy was in the language of the people, the next great need was that the words should have a swing and a good strong metre, that the congregation might catch up the tune and join in it. This need the Archdeacon supplied, for he published twelve tunes with his version of the Psalms. Having served his Church and generation with fidelity and zeal, the Archdeacon fell asleep in 1623, at the age of 83; and was buried "before the altar" in Maentwrog Church, of which parish, with that of Festiniog, he had been rector 51 years.

A distinguished Welsh Bishop of this reign was Lewis Bayly, a native of Carmarthen. In 1611, he was Chaplain to Prince Henry, and minister of S. Matthew's Church, Friday street, London. His fame as a preacher attracted the attention of James, who appointed him his chaplain, and in 1616, Bishop of Bangor. Bishop Bayly's fame, however, rests on his devotional book, "*The Practice of Piety: directing a Christian how to walk that he may please God.*" Some estimate of the popularity of the work may be formed from the fact, that up to the year 1734 it had reached 59 editions. It was translated into French in 1633, and this work became so famous that John d' Espagne, a French writer, and preacher in Somerset House Chapel in 1656, complained that the generality of the common people in France regarded it as of equal authority with the Bible. John Bunyan refers to the original work as having sobered him much, and lead him to walk the "narrow way," so touchingly pictured in his "*Pilgrim's Progress.*" A Welsh translation of the "*Practice of Piety,*" by Rowland Vaughan of Caergai appeared in 1630, which became very popular and passed through many editions. In his "*Address to the Reader,*" he says—"And I have only this to tell thee, to sum up all. See that this book

may give thy soul cure, or other similar book, such as that remarkable book called "*Llwybr hyffordd i'r nefoedd*"—"Pathway to Heaven,"—translated by the learned scholar, and my dear preceptor, Mr. Ro. Lloyd, Vicar of Chirk, or a sermon on repentance by the same excellent Welshman; and if those will not cause thee to amend thy life, thou wouldest be no better *if one rose from the dead* to teach thee; but if thou wilt derive any benefit from this book, think in thy prayer of one who will be bound to do for his language and his country the best service and obedience in his power, while his name remains."—Row. Vaughan.

Known among his countrymen, by whom he was universally held in high esteem, as "Rowland Vaughan the Translator," because of his labours as translator into Welsh of some of the leading standard English Theological works, his name still appears so in Welsh history. Educated at Jesus College, Oxford, he left before taking his degree, and retired to his Caergai Estate, in Llanuwchllyn. Here, in view of



Bala Lake and the Arran,

surrounded by landscapes of charming beauty, he spent the remainder of his long and useful life, which he devoted so largely, by the power of his pen, to the religious advancement and spiritual edification of his countrymen of Wales. In this, as in all other respects, he was an exemplary country squire. Removed from the polite, the people among whom Rowland Vaughan cast his lot retained much of their primæval simplicity of manners and quaint customs; working cheerfully till the day's labour was over, and at

‘The knell of parting day,
The lowing herds wind slowly o’er the lea,
The ploughman homewards plods his weary way.’

The stillness of his retirement in the ancient and historic mansion of Caergai, built on the site of an old Roman



Caergai.

fort, was hardly ever disturbed except by the lowing of oxen, or the bleating of sheep which grazed the surrounding pastures. Nevertheless, as a stout royalist and an officer in the army of Charles I, Rowland Vaughan suffered much in defence of

his Church and King, and was imprisoned in Chester Castle three years. The Republicans burnt down to the ground his mansion of Caergai in 1645: his estate was confiscated, the recovery of which cost him much. The following lines on the execution of Charles I, are by Vaughan, and express his admiration for, and loyalty to the king.

"Ni allaf fynegi yr achos o'i dori,
Mwy da i mi dewi yn dawel a son;
Ond dyweda'n seliedig na thorir pen tebig
Yn Lloegr goch oerddig na'r Werddon."

Rowland Vaughan was a Welsh poet of the first rank, and is one of our earliest Welsh hymn writers in the modern sense, his Welsh rendering of the "Veni Creator" not being the least popular among Welsh worshippers,

"Tyr'd Ysbryd Glan, i'n c'lonau ni
A dod d'oleuni nefol;
Tydi wyt Ysbryd Crist, dy ddawn
Sy' fawr iawn a rhagorol."

and which was probably sung for the first time in his own



Church of Llanuwchllyn.

The quiet Sunday walk thereto, as the sound of the matins and vesper bells echoed through the peaceful valley, added sweetness and light to the duties of the day within the sacred walls of the rustic sanctuary,¹ hallowed and surrounded by so many sacred and solemn associations, and within which the remains of Rowland Vaughan were laid to rest, at the age of 80, in the family vault² A.D. 1670.

A distinguished contemporary of Rowland Vaughan, and a personal friend, was Robert Lloyd, Vicar of Chirk 1161. In addition to his Welsh translation of the "Pathway to Heaven," Lloyd published at his own expense, several other Welsh translations of a devotional kind, including sermons and pamphlets for the spiritual guidance of his poor countrymen. The quiet, but effective labours of these two men alone, to say nothing of others, are sufficient to acquit the Church of the Cymry of the charge sometimes unjustly brought against her of barrenness at this period. The Church possessed then true and loyal sons who suffered much in her defence during the Commonwealth. And the sufferings of the clergy willingly undergone and silently borne, prove the sincerity of their attachment to the Church of their forefathers. To them, indeed, it was no hard matter to despise human comfort when they had that which is divine. Christ triumphs in the hearts of His servants by wrongs meekly borne even more than by wrongs legally righted.

1. Rowland Vaughan enlarged this church at his own cost, by adding the south aisle, which is itself a memorial to him. The Welsh stanza which he wrote on the occasion still lives in the folk lore of the neighbourhood.

2. The family vault of the Vaughans stood in the old church near where the prayer desk now stands. No trace of it now remains, and the inscriptions connected with it disappeared during the restoration of the church in 1872.

CHAPTER XXXI.

CHARLES I. 1625—1642.

ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.

George Abbott, 1611—1633.

William Laud, 1633—1645.

(Vacancy, 16 years.)

BISHOPS OF ST. ASAPH.

John Hanmer, 1624—9.
John Owen, 1629—1660.

BISHOPS OF BANGOR.

Lewis Bayly, 1616—1631.
David Dolben, 1631—1633.
Edmund Griffith, 1633—1637.
William Roberts 1637—1665.

BISHOPS OF S. DAVIDS.

William Laud, 1621—7.
Theophilus Field, 1627—36.
Roger Mainwaring 1636—60.

BISHOPS OF LLANDAFF.

Theophilus Field, 1619—27.
William Murray, 1627—40.
Morgan Owen, 1640—66.

THE character of Charles I. was ill-suited to his times.

His lofty notions of the divine right of Kings to unlimited obedience clashed fatally with the popular idea of the limits of kingly power. The majority of the Welsh people, however, favoured the cause of the Stuarts, who, like the Tudors before them, had been careful to cultivate their sympathies by administering Church patronage in harmony with the national sentiment; for, between the reign of Henry VIII. and the Revolution, no fewer than forty four Welshmen were appointed to Welsh bishoprics, some of whom were translated to English sees.

The leading spirit at the accession of Charles I. was William Laud, Bishop of S. David's, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. When he was Bishop of S. Davids, he held a public disputation with Fisher, a learned Jesuit, which was attended by King James. Laud, in defending the Church of England on the lines laid down by Hooker, ac-

quited himself so well in this controversy that his already growing influence at Court greatly increased, and from that time he became one of the King's chief advisers.

Laud, when Archbishop of Canterbury, made the following Return² to the King, A.D., 1633, respecting the Welsh dioceses in his Province.

"January 2, 1633. My Lord of S. David's is now resident in his diocese, and hath so been ever since the last spring, and professes that he will take great care hereafter to whom he will give holy orders. His Lordship certifies that he hath suspended a lecturer for his Inconformity."

"January 2, 1634. The Bishop of S. David's is careful whom he ordains. The lecturers in these parts are not many, yet of late he hath been driven first to suspend, and afterwards to dismiss, one Roberts, a Welsh lecturer, for Inconformity; and one or two others, that hath with their giddiness offered to distemper the people, he hath likewise driven out of the diocese. His lordship complains grievously and not without cause."

"The Bishop of Llandaff certifies that this last year he visited in person, and found that William Erbery, Vicar of St. Mary's, Cardiff, and Walter Cradock, his curate, have been very disobedient to your Majesty's injunctions, and have preached very schismatically and dangerously to the people. That for this he hath given the Vicar a judicial admonition, and will further proceed, if he do not submit; and for his curate, being a bold, ignorant young fellow, he hath suspended him, and taken away his license to serve the cure."

2. Taken from the Lambeth MSS. Vol. 943.

“January 2, 1635. Llandaff.—In this diocese the bishop found, in his triennial visitation the former year, two noted schismatics, Wroth and Erbery, that lead away many simple people after them, and finding that they wilfully persisted in their schismatical course, he hath carefully preferred articles against them in the High Commission Court, where, when the case is ready for hearing, they shall receive according to the merits of it.”

“St. David’s.—The late Bishop (now of Hereford), hath caused to be questioned in the High Commission Court, and suspended, one Roberts, a lecturer, for Inconformity. *Three or four others*, who were suspended, he hath released, upon hope given of their obedience to the Church. He complains much, and surely with cause enough, that there are few ministers, in those poor and remote places, that are able to preach and instruct the people.”

1636.—St. David’s.—There is one Matthews, the Vicar of Penmain, that preaches against the keeping of holy-days, with divers other, as fond or profane opinions. The Bishop hath inhibited him, and if that doth not serve, I shall call him into your High Commission Court.”

1638.—Llandaff.—There were in this diocese last year but two refractory ministers, Mr. Wroth and Mr. Erbery. The former hath submitted ; but the other would neither submit nor satisfy his parishoners, to whom he had given public offence. So he resigned his vicarage, and hath thereby left the diocese in peace.”

“1640.—St. Asaph.—A conventicle of mean persons was laid hold on, and complaint made to the Council of the Marches.”

Erbery, Wroth, and Cradock, were the pioneers of modern

Welsh Nonconformity. Laud's action is frequently stigmatized as persecution ; but there is nothing in these Returns to justify such a charge. These men refused to conform to the Church of which they were ministers : and their ecclesiastical superiors did not exceed their duty in their mode of procedure. As long as they continued beneficed in the Church they were in duty bound to do her work loyally. Laud allowed no laxity ; and his character has been vilified on that account. A man of lofty ideas, unflinching courage, and unwavering in the pursuit of what he believed to be the truth, and believing that the liturgy should be a reality, Laud had the full courage of his opinions, and strove, in season and out of season, to maintain the system of the Church of England, and to keep it against all efforts to narrow it. And, in his way, he was a martyr for freedom ; for he fought for intellectual freedom in the Church, and to establish external uniformity. His object was excellent, but his great mistake was that he trusted to the authority of the State to bring uniformity about by compulsion, hence he has been accused of intolerance. In one respect, however, Laud succeeded in establishing uniformity so firmly in fixing the position of the Communion Table at the east end of the church, that it has never since been changed. Before this there was no established rule, and the Holy Table stood in various positions in different parts of the Church.¹ Dr. John Davies, rector of Mallwyd, in direct disobedience to the injunctions of Laud, placed the Communion Table in the body of the church, where it remained till the close of the last century. This injunction was not accepted without a struggle, but posterity has decided in its favour by its general adoption.

When he was Bishop of S. David's, Laud had not a firmer friend and supporter than Rice Prichard (1579—1644)—the

1. See p. 271.

famous Vicar of Llandovery, whom Laud appointed Chancellor of S. David's in 1626. A churchman of the same type as his diocesan, Vicar Prichard was, like the majority of his countrymen, a firm royalist. He gave the greater portion of his income for three years, at the outbreak of the Civil War, to support the King's party. The name of Vicar Prichard is still well known and beloved in Wales as the author of "*Canwyll y Cymry*," or the "*Welshman's Candle*," an English translation of which appeared in 1771. No book in the Welsh language, with the exception of the Bible and Book of Common Prayer, has been so extensively circulated and used with so much benefit as this volume of poetry—"His volume is a complete body of doctrinal and practical divinity. The style is simple, sententious, and remarkably vigorous. Several of the most striking verses having long since become national proverbs.....There is no danger that his name shall be forgotten while the '*Welshman's Candle*' continues to give light, and scriptural religion retains its hold on the hearts of the sons of Cambria."¹

The fondness of Welsh people for ballad singing inspired the Vicar with the idea of turning his sermons and portions of the Prayer Book into verse, for the bold rebuking of vice, the teaching of morals and Church doctrine, and counter-acting the pernicious influence of certain ballads of questionable morality, commonly sung at fairs in Wales, and to which the Vicar refers in the following lines in "*Canwyll y Cymry*":—

"The Welsh, 'tis true, as thou may'st well discern,
Are much more apt some idle song to learn,
Than truths—that, far more worthy of their care
And of more value and importance are."

To secure the attention of the masses, and to influence effectually their morals and behaviour—in which he was

1. History of Nonconformity in Wales. (Rees,) p, 33.

wonderfully successful—the good Vicar wrote his poetry in the simplest and most homely language, so he says in the following lines :

“ I labour'd not anything exact,
But a short measure, pleasing and compact,
Which the worst memory might with ease retain,
That heard it only twice, or once again.”

Vicar Prichard is described as short of stature, of strong build, with a long beard after the fashion of the ancient Britons, bright countenance, and sweet voice in the pulpit.¹

When in residence at S. David's Cathedral, as Chancellor, Vicar Prichard's powerful preaching, brimful of unction, drew such immense audiences that the spacious nave of that edifice proved inadequate to hold them. On such occasions, he used to preach in the open air from a movable pulpit, which he had erected for the purpose. Here his earnest pleadings for Christ broke on the stillness of the surroundings, as the voice of one crying in the wilderness, “Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight.” A spot fragrant with sweet memories of S. David, Giraldus, and others before him, and which must have often inspired his thoughts.

Vicar Prichard was libelled in the Spiritual Courts for his open air preaching. It is difficult to explain on what grounds this was done ; for open air preaching had been a long established national custom at Paul's Cross,² from which eminent divines were appointed to preach every Sunday in the forenoon. To this place the Court, the mayor, the aldermen, and principal citizens of London, used to resort.

1. “O ran ei berson, gwr byr, cyfnerthawl ydoedd, yn gadael ei farf i dyfu yn ol dull yr hen Frutaniaid. Yr oedd o lais peraidd ac wyneb-pryd bywiog yn y pulpud.” *Trysorfa Ysprydol*, 1799, p. 326.

2. See pp. 275—6.



*Rice Prichard³ preaching in the open
air, at S. David's*

(The autograph is taken from a fac-simile in *Vicar Prichard's Life* by Prof. Rees.)

It was in use as early as 1259, and was, by order of Parliament, demolished in 1643—just a year before Vicar Prichard's death, which happened in 1644, at the age of 65. He

was buried in the parish church of Llandovery: the exact spot is not now known, but must have been pointed out in 1710, when Bishop Bull desired to be buried by his side.

Archbishop Laud's firm loyalty to his Church and King brought him to the scaffold; and he suffered death with the constancy of a martyr, on January 10, 1645. His last words were: "What slanders I have endured for labouring to keep a uniformity in the external service of God according to the discipline of the Church all men know, and I have abundantly felt."



Archbishop Laud.—1573—1645.

With Laud, humanly speaking, fell the Church for a time at least. The liturgy was proscribed about the same time that the Ordinance was passed for Laud's condemnation; and the Presbyterian Directory was authorized for the press. The Directory was a substitute for the Book of Common Prayer, and was sanctioned by Parliament

during the Great Rebellion. It contained no forms of prayer, but simply directions—hence its title, Directory—for praying, preaching, and the performance of ministerial offices generally; or, in other words, it was a book of rubrics only.

It is a curious and interesting fact that the religion established at the time of the Commonwealth was to all intents and purposes a parliamentary religion, with no historical continuity whatever. On the other hand, the Church which it supplanted for a time, was founded in this country when it was a Roman province, and gradually converted the inhabitants to Christianity. And when the State became Christianized, it legalized the operations of the Church, and secured to it certain constitutional privileges. It is in this sense that the designation "as by law established in this realm," which is often used respecting the Church of England in Acts of Parliament, is to be understood. Parliament did not, and could not, create what existed long before it.

In four years time, on January 30, 1649, Charles followed the same path of suffering as Laud. Two Welshmen sat on the king's trial, and signed his death warrant—Col. John Jones, Governor of Anglesey, and Thomas Wogan, member for the Cardiganshire Boroughs—with 57 other commissioners. A pathetic story is told of Charles' visit to Wrexham during the Civil War, on October 7, 1642, for the purpose of meeting some commissioners from Chester and the adjacent towns. On the occasion he knighted his Attorney General, Mr. Richard Lloyd, whose guest he had been on a former visit.¹ His majesty returned the same night to Shrewsbury. Lloyd pressed him to stay over night, pointing out the length of the journey, about 40 miles, and the inclemency of the weather. But the King would not consent. "Gentlemen," he said, "go you and take your rests; for you have houses and homes to go to, and beds of your own to lodge in; and God grant you may long enjoy them. I am deprived of these comforts. I must attend to

1, Harl. MSS. 2125, fol. 313.

my present affairs, and return this night to the place whence I came."¹

During the Civil War, an eminent Welshman took a prominent part in ecclesiastical and civil affairs, John Williams, (1582—1650)—a native of Conway ; educated at Ruthin Grammar School and S. John's College, Cambridge, of which college he became Fellow. His promotion in the Church was rapid, and he held many preferments in England with a sinecure in North Wales. He was a great favourite with Archbishop Bancroft, and was Chaplain to James I., with whom he was in high favour ; and in 1619 became Dean of Salisbury, and Dean of Westminster in the following year. On the removal of Lord Chancellor Bacon from office in 1621, Williams was appointed Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, and about the same time became Bishop of Lincoln, with which he held the Deanery of Westminster in commendam. He attended James I. on his death-bed, and preached his funeral sermon. Owing to a disagreement with the Duke of Buckingham, whom Williams always resisted with undaunted courage, he was removed from the office of Lord Keeper in 1626. Summoned before Parliament, he disobeyed, and was afterwards brought before the Star Chamber, and fined £10,000, suspended from all dignities, offices and functions, and was imprisoned in the Tower for three years. In 1640, he petitioned the King for his release, which was granted ; and appeared in his place in the House of Lords, which he addressed in these words :—"That if they had no worse foes than he, they might fear no harm ; and that he saluted them with the charity of a bishop." William's dignified behaviour under misfortunes so reconciled the king to him, that he

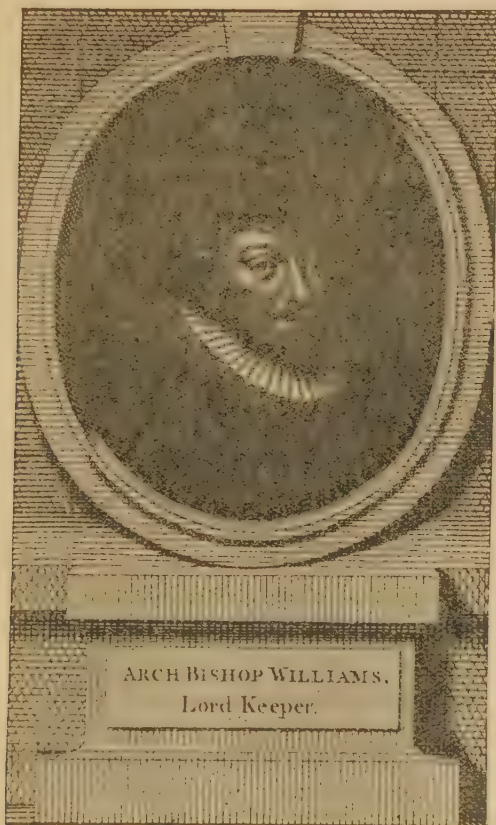
1. Quoted in Ormerod's Cheshire, vol. i, xxxv.

made him Archbishop of York in 1641, in which year he delivered so powerful a speech in the House of Lords against a Bill for depriving the Bishops of their seats there, that the proposal was dropped. About the same time, when popular feeling ran high, he was attacked in Westminster Abbey, and repelled the violence of the mob with great courage. "This gave rise to the first satirical print I know. The prelate is represented in his episcopal dress, a musket on his shoulder, rest in his hand, helmet on his head, and mitre on the ground."¹ The mob proceeded so far as to seize him on his way to the House of Lords, and tore off his robes. Incensed at this, Williams returned to Westminster, and in a fit of passion induced eleven bishops to join him in a protest against all acts that should be done in the House of Lords during their forced absence. This brought an impeachment of high treason against them, and imprisonment for 18 months, and in the end a release on bail, by which the Archbishop in particular was bound over not to enter his diocese during the disturbances in the county of York. He, however, instantly disregarded the injunction, followed the King to the city of York, and was enthroned in York Minster, June 27, 1642: but immediately left the city, and took refuge at Conway, his native place, where he fortified the castle for the King, which so pleased his majesty, that in a letter dated Oxford, Aug. 1, 1643, he wrote, "heartily desiring him to go on with the work, assuring him that whatever moneys he should lay out upon the fortification of the said castle should be repaid unto him, before the custody thereof should be put into any other hand than his own, or such as he should command." Archbishop Williams is said to have warned the King specially against Cromwell, who "though then of but mean rank and use in the army, yet

1. Penrant's "Tours in Wales," vol. ii. 297

would be sure to rise higher." After the execution of Charles, Williams, who survived the King about a year, spent the remainder of his days in sorrow, study and devotion, and is said to have risen regularly at midnight, and prayed on his bare knees, with nothing on but his shirt and waistcoat. Williams died at Gloddaeth, Conway, on March 25, 1650—his birthday—and was buried on the south side of the chancel of Llandegai Church, near Bangor, on the Penrhyn and Cochwillan estates, which belonged to him, and passed on his death to his nephew and heir, Sir Griffith Williams, who erected a mural monument, still existing in good condition, over the grave. The Archbishop is represented in a praying posture, and the Latin inscription is by Hacket, Bishop Lichfield, his biographer. Archbishop Williams was the leader of an anti-Calvinistic party in the Church, which came into favour in his time, and was nicknamed *Arminian*. His religious sympathies were strongly on the Puritan side, which made him specially distasteful to his brother Laud of Canterbury, between whom and Williams there was a settled dispute. Williams wrote his book, "The Holy Table, Name, and Thing, more anciently, properly, and literally used under the New Testament, than that of the Altar," against Laud's injunctions to restore the Communion Table from the middle of the church to the east end. Archbishop Williams' high position and vigorous character made him many enemies. Notwithstanding his short comings, he had admirers who have represented fairly the bright side of his character. Wilson, a contemporary, writes of him : "though he was composed of many grains of good learning, yet the height of his spirit, I will not say pride, made him odious even to those that raised him ; haply because they could not attain to those ends by him, they required of him. But being of a comely and stately presence and that animated with a great mind, made him appear very proud to the

vulgar eye; but that very temper raised him to aim at great things which he effected: for the old ruins of the Abbey



Church at Westminster was new clothed by him :¹ the fair and beautiful library of St. John's College in Cambridge was

1. There is much Welsh history entwined around Westminster Abbey. The most ornate of its chapels was built by Henry VII., in which he was buried. All the Tudor monarchs, except Henry VIII., are buried in the Abbey. The funeral of Queen Elizabeth, to whom Wales owed so much, is thus described in the Ellis MSS. 195, "In an open chariot,

a pile of his erection ; and a very complete chapel built by him at Lincoln College, Oxford, merely for the name of Lincoln, having no interest in nor relation to that University. But that which heightened him most in the opinion of those that knew him best was his bountiful mind to men of want ; being a great patron to support, where there was merit that wanted supply ; but these actions were not publicly visible ; those were more apparent that were looked on with envious, rather than emulous eyes.”²

Among the eminent men educated by Archbishop Williams for the ministry was Griffith Williams, a native of Llanrug, educated at Christ Church, Oxford. sometime rector of Llanllechid, where he was highly esteemed for his personal piety and excellent preaching. In 1628, he was Prebendary of Westminster ; in 1633, Dean of Bangor and Archdeacon of Anglesey, and Chaplain to Charles I. In 1641, he was appointed Bishop of Ossory in Ireland, with which he held the Deanery of Bangor and Archdeaconry of Ossory *in commendam*, up to the time of his death. Soon after his appointment, the Irish rose in rebellion in 1641, when Williams quitted Ireland and retired to Plas Hwfa, still existing, in his old parish of Llanllechid, where for twelve years together he had not more than £20 a year to support himself, and was forced to live in a small cottage of his own with a little land. He went about attired in mean clothing,

drawn by four horses, lay the body of the dead Queen, embalmed and enclosed in lead, over it was an image, in her parliament robes, with a crown on her head, and a sceptre in hand, all exquisitely framed to resemble life, at sight whereof divers of the beholders fell a weeping, especially women.” During the greater portion of Elizabeth's reign, 1591—1601—the Dean of Westminster was a Welshman—Gabriel Goodman, a native of Ruthin, and one of the leading divines of the period. He was buried at Westminster Abbey.

2. Quoted in “ Eminent Welshmen.”

and was forced to do many servile duties in and about his house, garden, and cattle. Bishop Williams outlived the troubles of the Commonwealth, and returned to his diocese, where he died, March 26, 1672, aged 84 years, and was buried in his own cathedral of Kilkenny. Bishop Williams founded and endowed eight almshouses with £40, as homes for so many widows. He was the author of many works, including sermons, devotional and controversial writings, bearing on the troubles and the trials of the Church and realm during the Commonwealth.

Henry VII 1485 - 1509

Henry VIII 1509 - 1547

Edward VI 1547 - 1553

Mary 1553 - 1558

Elizabeth 1558 - 1603

James I 1603 - 1625

Charles I 1625 - 1649

Commonwealth 1649 - 1660

~~~~~  
Charles II 1660 - 1685

James II 1685 - 1688

William III & Mary II

## CHAPTER XXXII.

### OLIVER CROMWELL.

MADE PROTECTOR, 1653. RULED 4 YEARS, 8 MONTHS,  
AND 18 DAYS.

THE rise of Cromwell, claimed by modern Welsh Non-conformists as one of "the Welsh Celebrities of the Faith,"<sup>1</sup> was the more important because he put himself at the head of a sect called Independents<sup>2</sup>—the principles of which spread widely in the army,—notorious for their stern, intolerant, and fanatical temper, and quite as inimical to Presbyterianism as to the Church of England,—now trodden to the ground. Presbyterianism now rose in her place for a season, which, in its form, was stern and forbidding. Amusements of the most innocent kind were declared sinful; holy days were put down by civil enactment, and Christmas changed from a Festival into a Fast. The Presbyterians, when in power, showed more religious intolerance than ever existed when the Church was in the ascendancy. "They interdicted, under heavy penalties, the Book of Common Prayer, not only in churches, but even in private houses. It was a crime in a child to read by the bed-side of a sick parent one of those beautiful collects which had soothed the griefs of forty generations of Christians. Severe punishments were denounced against such as should presume to blame the Calvinistic mode of worship."<sup>3</sup> Presbyterianism—a religious body ruled by presbyters as opposed to epi-

---

1. "Enwogion y Ffydd," vol. i.

2. Independents, or Congregationalists, hold that each congregation is independent of all others in religious matters, and has the right of self government, however few may be its members. Cromwell was an Independent, and obtained for the sect toleration in opposition to the Presbyterians.

3. Macaulay's "History of England," vol. i., p. 126.

scopal government—developed into Independency, that is, made a more open avowal of the principle that every man had a right to make a religion for himself; and that Popery, Prelacy, and Presbyterianism were only different forms of the great apostasy. No wonder that sects multiplied greatly when such doctrines found favour with this political party when in power: for the Independents, to use the phrase of their time, were “root and branch men.” Most daring claims were set up to special inspiration from God; the more startling the claim the higher the inspiration. The origin of Quakerism, so called from the distortions and convulsions which marked their devotional meetings, dates from this period.

The leading spirit in religious matters during the Commonwealth was a Welshman—Dr. John Owen (1616—1683,) son of the Rev. Henry Owen, the third son of Griffith Owen, of Talybont, Towyn, Merionethshire. Much against the wishes of his relatives, Dr. Owen deserted the King, and joined Cromwell; and there existed between the two a lifelong friendship. Though he became a parliamentarian by conviction, Owen often showed his moderation, and over-ruled his fellow-commissioners in favour of deserving royalists, when the influence of his old associations asserted itself. Though often urged to it, he never molested the meeting of royalists at the house of Dr. Willis—not far from his own rooms at Christ Church, Oxford—where they worshipped according to the Book of Common Prayer. It was through his influence also that the prosecution of Dr. Pocoke for the same offence was withdrawn. Dr. John Owen, who was a kind of Archbishop of Canterbury during the sway of the religion of the Commonwealth—was commanded to preach the sermon before the House of Commons the day after the execution of Charles, in which he made the famous declaration in favour of a national recognition of religion by the

State. "If," he said, "you should once go so far as to declare that you have nothing to do with religion, God will soon show you that he has nothing to do with you as rulers." With all his faults his greatest enemies agree in conceding that Dr. Owen was a man of great learning—a great historian—especially Church history—and some of his writings have been translated into Welsh. Wood, no admirer, says of him, "He was a person well skilled in the tongues, Rabbinical learning, Jewish rites and customs; that he had a great command of his English pen, and was one of the most genteel and fairest writers who have appeared against the Church of England. His personage was proper and comely, and he had a very graceful, insinuating deportment, and could by the persuasion of his oratory move and wind the affections of his admiring auditory almost as he pleased."



Dr. John Owen, 1616—83.

With the fanaticism, which marked the sectarianism of the period, it is not surprising that Puritanism, both Presbyterian and Independent, produced few great men of taste and literature, if we except Dr. John Owen, and Milton—also of Welsh blood<sup>1</sup>—who is said to have defended the execution of Charles I.

1. "Milton's father married a gentlewoman of the name of Caston, a Welsh family, by whom he had two sons, John the poet, and Christopher, who studied the law."—Dr. Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, vol. i., p. 120.

The questions at issue during the great Rebellion were, the limits of obedience to lawfully constituted authority and to reason. The King, Archbishops Laud and Williams, Usher, Clarendon, Hammond, and Jeremy Taylor were on the side of submission to authority in spiritual and temporal matters. Cromwell, Milton, and John Owen, were on the opposite side.

It is an event of some interest in Welsh Church history during the Commonwealth that the saintly and learned Jeremy Taylor—than whom the Church of England can furnish few names as proud as his—found refuge during this stormy period in Wales, among a sympathetic people. Up to the time of the Civil War, Taylor had been rector of Uppingham, when he attended the king in camp as chaplain. It was during his imprisonment at Chepstow Castle that he wrote his famous "Liberty of Prophesying," in which he pleads with great ability and eloquence for religious toleration. On his release, he became chaplain to the Earl of Carbery, and resided at Golden Grove, South Wales, till 1658; and is said to have kept a school at Llanfihangel Aberbythych, a small village hard by. This was the time during which he wrote his famous works—since translated into the Welsh language, "Holy Living" and "Holy Dying," which he dedicated to "Richard Vaughan, Earl of Carbery." The time Jeremy Taylor spent in Wales, as an exile, was the period of his greatest strength and greatest leisure. The surroundings of Golden Grove ministered to his love of beauty, and intellectual growth; and he was touched and thrilled by the beauty of his Welsh retirement. Of this there is abundant evidence in his writings, which are full of images suggested to his mind by the sights and sounds which surrounded his path in profusion. The following description of the Christian's devotion, which he compares to the wavering ascent of the lark, will suffice as an illustra-

tion. "For so have I seen a lark rising from his bed of grass, and soaring upwards and singing as he rises, and hopes to get to heaven above the clouds; but the poor bird was beaten back by the loud sighing of an eastern wind, and his motion made irregular and inconstant, descending more at every breath of the tempest than it could recover by the libration and frequent weighing of its wings, till the little creature sat down to pant, and stay till the storm was over; and then it made a prosperous flight, and did rise and sing as if it had learned music from an angel, as he passed sometimes through the air about his ministering here below. So is the prayer of a good man."



Bishop Jeremy Taylor—  
1613—67.

Speaking of his own circumstances at the time, his feelings are touched upon in his "Holy Living"—"I am fallen into the hands of publicans and sequestrators, and they have taken all from me. What now? Let me look about me. They have left me the sun and moon, fire and water, a loving wife, and many friends to pity me, and some to relieve me; and I can still discourse, and unless I list they have

not taken away my merry countenance and my cheerful spirit, and a good conscience; they have still left me the providence of God, and all the promises of the Gospel, and my religion and my hopes of heaven, and *my charity to them too*; and still I can walk in my neighbours pleasant fields, and see the varieties of natural beauties, and delight in all that in which God delights, that is in virtue and wisdom, in the whole creation and in God himself. And he that hath so many causes of joy and so great, is very much in love

with sorrow and peevishness who loses all these pleasures, and chooses to sit down upon his little handful of thorns."

The Nonconformists became supreme in the State. No man could hope to rise to eminence and command except by their favour, which was to be gained only by exchanging with them the sign and passwords of spiritual fraternity. "One of the first resolutions adopted by Barebone's Parliament,<sup>1</sup> the most intensely Puritanical of all our political assemblies, was that no person should be admitted into the public service till the House should be satisfied of his real godliness. What were then considered as the signs of real godliness, the sad coloured dress, the sour look, the straight hair, the nasal whine, the speech interspersed with quaint texts, the Sunday, gloomy as a Pharisaical Sabbath, were easily imitated by men, to whom all religions were the same."<sup>2</sup> These were outward and visible signs of inward and spiritual grace of the Parliamentary religion of the Commonwealth, and formed, in a sense, its ritualism.

The tyrannical Marriage Act of the Barebone's Parliament was passed, which enacted that "on and after September 29, 1653," every marriage was to be celebrated by a justice of the peace; and any marriage celebrated after that date—whether by any of the sequestered parish priests of the National Church or by one of the State's own new Presbyterian or Independent "Public Preachers," was "declared to be null and void." The principles of Congregationalism, as

---

1. This was summoned by Cromwell, and consisted of 122 persons, such as he thought he could manage, who, with six from Scotland and five from Ireland, met as a Parliament in July 1653. It took its title from a nickname given to one of its members, a leather seller, named "Praise—God Barbon." This Parliament was suddenly dissolved, 13, Dec., 1653, and Cromwell made lord protector.

2. Macaulay's "History of England," vol. i., p. 130.

laid down in Article 23 of the Petition of its members to James I., and practically embodied by the Barebone's Parliament, repudiated all Scriptural authority for a religious celebration of Holy Matrimony. The Nonconformists of the present day are better than their forefathers. Their complaint is of the compulsory presence of the secular officer of the law, in the person of the registrar, at their weddings, and by recent legislation his presence is optional.



A Welsh Wedding—"Running away with the Bride."

In truth, the fanatical Act of the Barebone's Parliament was never generally accepted even by members of Non-conforming bodies, and herein their example was better than their creed. In Wales, a large portion of Nonconformists prefer the Marriage Service, as they do the Burial Service, and are married in Church. The title of the office—"The form of Solemnization of Matrimony"—was doubtless adopted by the framers of the Prayer Book to inculcate the solemnity of the rite, and to counteract the tendency of the Civil Courts, after

the Reformation, to regard Marriage as a civil contract, and therefore dissoluble. The married state is designated also in the Service as a "holy estate," and "holy matrimony." The Welsh Prayer Book of 1586 had "Ffurf Solemnization, neu drefnit Priodas." In the absence of a better word in the Welsh language to convey the full meaning of the original, the translators retained the English word Solemnization. It was, however, subsequently changed into Gweinyddiad—i.e. administration—in order to introduce a Welsh title to the office, which is, however, not a translation of "Solemnization."<sup>1</sup> Welsh people have always entertained the highest regard for the sacredness of the marriage vow—the effect of the wholesome teaching of the Church.

"All the clergy, the gentry and the people generally throughout Wales were Royalists, and the Nonconformists were comparatively few in number at the outbreak of the Civil War."<sup>2</sup> The Welsh people were for Church and King; and the abhorrence with which they received the decision of Parliament may well be imagined, when, on the 15th Aug., 1645, it "Ordered, that out of the lands of the bishops, deans and chapters of Llandaff and S. David's, there be £300 per annum allowed and paid unto Mr. Henry Walter, Mr. Richard Symonds, and Mr. Walter Cradock, ministers, during the pleasure of the House, equally to be divided between them, viz.—£100 per annum each, towards their maintenance in the work of the ministry in South Wales." Doubtless, these men articulated, after the orthodox fashion, the sanctimonious shibboleths of Parliament, which satisfied it of their real or apparent godliness; whatever may be said of

---

1. It is interesting to note that in the usual notice inscribed on Nonconformist places of worship,—“Marriages may be solemnized in this Chapel”—the word is retained.

2. *His. Nonconformity in Wales*, p. 66.

the conduct of a Parliament misappropriating and misapplying Church revenues, and of the consciences of those receiving such revenues. On July 22, 1646, "An Ordinance for constituting Mr. Richard Symonds, Henry Walter, and Walter Cradock, ministers, to preach itinerantly in the several counties of South Wales, and for allowing each of them £100 per annum out of the rents and revenues of the deans, and chapters and prebends of S. David's and Llandaff, for their pains—and likewise for constituting a committee to sequester the said rents and revenues, and pay the said stipend to the said ministers out of them—was this day read, and ordered to be sent unto the Lords for their concurrence.

"Resolved, &c., that Mr. Recorder do prepare and bring an ordinance for settling committees, for better establishing the affairs of North Wales, for putting the ordinances of Parliament into execution, and for settling a preaching ministry there, and for taking care of providing maintenance for them; and for sending down ministers that may be able to preach in the Welsh tongue; and for appointing a standing committee to take notice of and overview the actions of the several committees of those counties; and to consider of members of this House to go into those counties; and to prepare instructions for them.

"October 28th, 1646. Ordered, that Mr. Cradock, Mr. Symonds, and Mr. Walter, who were formerly appointed to go into Wales, to preach the gospel there, do, with all convenient speed, proceed thither, according to the former appointment; and that the former allowance ordered to be paid to them for their pains be now paid unto them by the committee of the revenue."<sup>1</sup>

---

1 "Journals of the House of Commons." Vol. iv. pp. 242. 622. 707.

This is strange reading viewed in the light of modern ideas that a state-aided religion is unscriptural. The religion of the Commonwealth was state-aided in its worst form, for it was endowed out of the revenues of the Church voluntarily given to her from time to time by her pious members, and of which she was deprived for the time being by the strong arm of the law. Parliament, in 1649, passed an "Act for the better Propagation of the Gospel in Wales, and redress of some grievances." This was practically an Act to establish Nonconformity as the religion of Wales, against the wishes and convictions of a large majority of its people. No such Act ever existed establishing the Church in that form. "The Church of England has not only been a part of the history of this country," says Mr Gladstone,<sup>1</sup> "but a part so vital, entering so profoundly into the entire life and action of the country, that the severing of the two would leave nothing behind but a bleeding and lacerated mass. Take the Church of England out of the History of England, and the History of England becomes a chaos, without order without life, and without meaning.

By the power of the "Act for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales" — crimes were legalised, churches desecrated—some of them converted into stables, as was the case with Bangor Cathedral. The monuments, piously erected to the memory of churchmen, which adorned our Welsh Cathedrals and Churches, were ruthlessly cut down, and no efforts spared to wipe off, root and branch, all memorials of royalty and episcopacy. This was part of the work of preaching the Gospel in Wales! Working on these lines the "root and branch men" did their work with terrible fidelity ; for few memorials of these

---

<sup>1</sup> Speech in the House of Commons, May 19, 1873, on Mr Miall's Motion for the Disendowment and Disestablishment of the Church.

great Welshmen, bishops, clergy and laity, who made Wales what it was at the outbreak of the Civil War—a loyal country of staunch churchmen, were allowed to escape the merciless axe of the spoiler. The tyrannical rule of Cromwell, however, taught the masses better to value the influence of the Church—the most tolerant in Christendom—rather than put their trust in a religion which considered the following edict, issued 27 Nov., 1655, to breathe the spirit of the Gospel it professed to proclaim. “His Highness, by the advice of the Council, doth publish, declare and order: That no person or persons do, from and after the first day of January (1656), keep in their houses or families as chaplains, or schoolmasters for the education of their children, any sequestered or ejected ministers, fellow of a college, or schoolmaster; nor permit any of their children to be taught by such; in pain of being proceeded against in such sort as the said orders do direct in such cases. And that no person who hath been sequestered or ejected out of any benefice, college, or school, for delinquency or scandal, shall, from and after the said first day of January, keep any school either public or private; nor shall any person, who after that time shall be ejected for the causes aforesaid, preach in any public place, or at any private meeting of other persons besides his own family; nor administer baptism or the Lord’s Supper, or marry any persons, or use the Book of Common Prayer, or the forms therein contained; upon pain that every person so offending shall be proceeded against as by the said orders is provided.” Such were the orders issued by Cromwell, claimed by some modern Welsh writers as one of the “Celebrities of the Faith.” Not satisfied with depriving the clergy of their benefices, he proceeded further by making it a legal offence to earn their daily bread by other honest means, and deprive them of a home under the hospitable roofs of those who

took them in. No wonder that "the prisons became full to overflowing, and for want of room the 'malignant' clergy were sent to the dismantled hulks of worn out ships, to perish by exposure to the cold and wet in winter, or suffocation by the heat of summer, in pent up compartments where their head could touch the roofs."<sup>1</sup> Wales had its full share of this cruel persecution. Walker, in his "Sufferings of the Clergy," says that the number of clergy ejected in Wales was between 500 and 600. Among these was John Owen, Bishop of S. Asaph—sometime Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, and Chaplain to Charles I., who, on account of the Bishop's Welsh origin and great worth, preferred him to the see of S. Asaph in 1629, with the full concurrence of Archbishop Laud, who had a great regard for him. Bishop Owen inaugurated many great works in his see, some of which are recorded in the register known as *Cwta Cyvarwydd*, dating from 1600 to 1650. This Bishop was the first to establish Welsh preaching in the parish church of S. Asaph in 1630; and spent large sums of money on the repairs and decoration of the cathedral. He suffered much during Cromwell's persecution; was imprisoned in the Tower, and forced to compound for his temporalities by paying £500. He died in 1651, and was buried under the throne in S. Asaph Cathedral, which in those times of anarchy became most profanely desecrated by one Milles, the S. Asaph postmaster; who had also taken possession of the Bishop's Palace, where he sold wines and other liquors. The same man kept his horses and oxen in the body of the cathedral, fed his calves in the Bishop's throne, and other parts of the choir, and removed the font into his own yard, where he used it as a horse trough.<sup>2</sup>

---

1. "Notes on English Church History," p. 157.

2. "Eminent Welshmen."

George Griffith—the friend and chaplain of Bishop Owen, and his successor in the see in 1660—was among the Welsh clergy who suffered under the lashes of Cromwell's rule. Educated at Westminster, and elected student of Christ Church, Oxford, Dr. Griffith became an eminent tutor and preacher there. He was rector of Llanvechain, Montgomeryshire, which he exchanged for Llanymynech, and was also rector of Llandrinio, of which preferments he was deprived. He wielded a powerful pen, which he used in the service of his Church and King. He wrote, in 1652, "A modest Answer to a bold challenge by an Itinerant Preacher, Vavasor Powell," who was chaplain to Major General Harrison, a great favourite with Cromwell, who entrusted Wales under his command. To this, Dr. Griffith received a scurrilous reply. The rejoinder to which by Dr. Griffiths is entitled, "Animadversions on an imperfect Relation to the Perfect Diurnal, containing a Narration of a Disputation between Dr. Griffith and Vavasor Powell, near New Chapel, in Montgomeryshire," 1652. The questions proposed by Powell for discussion, were the following—(1) "Whether your calling or ours (which you so much speak against) be most warrantable, and nearest to the Word of God?" (2) "Whether your mixed ways, or ours, of separation, be nearest the Word of God?" In a personal Disputation, which took place a short time afterwards, the learning of Griffith obtained a complete triumph over his fanatic and confident adversary. The acknowledged discomfiture of the latter was rendered peculiarly mortifying to his party, as he had himself courted the contest; for, emboldened by the predominance of his friends, and the result of a dispute previously held with Godwin, on Universal Redemption, he had challenged any minister in Wales to encounter him on either of the above questions.<sup>1</sup>

---

1. Word's Athena.

Dr. Griffith undertook a new translation of the Book of Common Prayer into Welsh about this time, which does not seem to have been completed ; and in a Convocation of the Clergy in 1640, he moved for a new edition of the Welsh Bible.

Morgan Owen, Bishop of Llandaff, was also among the suffering clergy of this period. He became chaplain to Laud, when the latter was Bishop of S. David's, and was created D.D. when his patron became Chancellor of Oxford University. As a mark of gratitude for this honour, Dr. Owen enclosed the south yard of the Church of S. Mary the Virgin, Oxford, with a stone-wall, and built a beautiful porch on the same side of the church, in which he placed a carved image of the Virgin and Child, which disgusted the Puritans, and was defaced in 1642, and formed one of the counts of the indictment against Laud, in these terms—"That he did oblige the said Dr. Morgan Owen to build it, permitted him as Chancellor of the University, and connived at all when it was finished." Bishop Owen sought shelter from the tyranny of Cromwell at Glaswellt, Carmarthenshire, where he died. Over his grave is this inscription: "Here lyeth ye Body of ye Right Reverend Father in God Morgan, late Bishop of Llandaffe. who after having suffered much for his loyalty to his Sovereigne King Charls ye first and his pious Zeale for ye Established Church, Departed this Life the 5th day of March, in the year of our Lord, 1664."

The Great Rebellion, which caused so much suffering and misery to our forefathers, will not have been fruitless in good results, if it makes posterity cling with stronger affection to that ancient constitution in Church and State,—by teaching the value of a hereditary monarchy, and the blessedness and moderation of that Church, on which it so merci-

lessly trampled—so happily restored with the death of Cromwell, whose life affords a miserable instance of the bitter fruits of successful rebellion and gratified ambition. Nevertheless, in the midst of all his successes, Cromwell's life was a burden to him. He read a book "Killing no murder," written on the fatal principle, that to kill an usurper is an act of virtue, and from that time was never seen to smile. He wore armour under his clothes, and never slept more than two or three nights in the same room. Harassed by continual suspicion and alarm, he was also afflicted with the loss of his favourite daughter, who is said to have reproached him with his crimes on her deathbed. He was, however, tenderly attached to his family. Broken in health, under the weight of worry and fear, he died at his palace at Whitehall, Sept. 3, 1658, aged 59. On his deathbed he asked Goodwin, one of his preachers, if it were true that the elect could never fall from grace; and received the awful and delusive assurance from Goodwin, "Nothing more true." To this the Protector replied, "Then I am safe, for I am sure that once I was in a state of grace." Cromwell was buried with immense splendour in Westminster Abbey at the public expense. The whole expense of the funeral reached the enormous sum of £28,000. "His body," says Spencer,<sup>1</sup> "with that of Ireton, was disinterred on Saturday, Jan. 26, 1660, and on the Monday night following were drawn in several carts from Westminster to the Red Lion Inn, Holborn, where they remained all night. Bradshaw's, who presided at the King's trial, was taken up the following morning, when all three were conveyed on sledges to Tyburn, taken out of their coffins, hanged upon the several angles of that triple tree till sun-set, then beheaded, their trunks thrown into a hole under the gallows, and their heads

---

1. History, p. 474.

placed upon the top of Westminster hall, where Cromwell's long remained,"—a gruesome object lesson on the instability and treachery of popular feeling. *Sic transit gloria mundi!*

---

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

CHARLES II. A.D. 1649—85.

JAMES II.—1685—9.

ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.

(Vacancy, 15 years, from 1645—60.)

William Juxon, 1660—63.

Gilbert Sheldon, 1663—78.

William Sancroft 1678—91.

### BISHOPS OF S. ASAPH.

John Owen, 1629—60.

George Griffith, 1660—66.

Henry Glenham, 1667—70.

Isaac Barrow, 1670—80.

William Lloyd, 1680—92.

### BISHOPS OF BANGOR.

William Roberts, 1637—66.

Robert Morgan, 1667—73.

Humphrey Lloyd, 1673—1689.

### BISHOPS OF S. DAVIDS.

Roger Mainwaring, 1636—60.

William Lucy, 1660—78.

William Thomas, 1678—83.

Laurence Womack, 1683—86.

John Lloyd, 1686—7.

Thomas Watson, 1687—1705.

### BISHOPS OF LLANDAFF.

Morgan Owen, 1640—60.

Hugh Lloyd, 1660—67.

Francis Davies, 1667—75.

William Lloyd, 1675—79.

William Beaw, 1679—1706.

THE Savoy Conference, which the ungrateful Charles II. summoned, ended unfavourably to the Presbyterians. A few alterations were made in the Prayer Book at this last revision, which dates from the year 1662. Bishop George Griffith of S. Asaph took a prominent part in that year in a Convocation of the clergy in drawing up the Act of Uniformity, and in making the alterations in the Prayer Book. The office for "The Administration of Baptism to such as are of riper years and able to answer for themselves" is said to have been drawn up by Bishop Griffith,<sup>1</sup> and now inserted

---

1. He died Nov. 28, 1666, and was buried in the choir of S. Asaph Cathedral.

for the first time in the Prayer Book, so as to admit Baptists and Quakers,<sup>1</sup> who had greatly increased in numbers during the Rebellion—and now sought admission to the Church. The Baptists reject infant Baptism, and the Quakers, who at one time had a footing in Wales, but have now died out, reject Baptism altogether. In those parts of Wales where the Baptists are strong, and in South Wales especially, the office of Baptism of such as are of Riper Years is still used in the case of unbaptized converts to the Church, and the rubric as regards immersion followed, which directs—"Then shall the Priest take each person to be baptized by the right hand, and placing him conveniently by the Font, according to his discretion, shall ask the God-fathers and Godmothers the name; and then shall dip him in the water." When the churches have no fonts sufficiently large for the immersion of adults—which they seldom have—and the churches of Llanuwchllyn and Llanfairtalhaiarn are exceptions to the rule in this respect as possessing a baptistry for adults—the rite is administered in the nearest stream.

After the Liturgical Revision of 1662 was approved by Convocation, confirmed by the King and adopted by Parliament, the Prayer Book was embodied in the Act of Uniformity—known as the Bartholomew Act. The principal provisions of this Act are: that all who were not duly ordained were excluded from ministering in the Church; assent and consent to the Book of Common Prayer by holding preferment in the Church. Those refusing to comply by S. Bartholomew's Day were deprived of their benefices. About 2,000 Presbyterians, or Independent

---

1. Also called the Society of Friends, known originally by the name "Seekers," from their seeking the truth. Justice Bennett gave the sect the name Quakers in 1650, because George Fox, the founder, admonished him and those present to quake at the word of the Lord.

ministers refused, and were deprived. But many had conformed before the passing of the Act.

The operations, however, of the Act itself resulted in Nonconformity assuming an unfriendly attitude towards the Church. As regards Welsh Nonconformity, it is Anglican, not Welsh, in origin. The cry of "alien," so recently raised against the Church in Wales, has no historical foundation whatever in fact. Her loyal and true hearted sons, Bishops Davies, Vaughan, Morgan, Parry, Archdeacon Prys, Vicar Pritchard, Griffith Jones, Daniel Rowlands, and Thomas Charles, felt it their privilege to belong to a Church which enrolled among its members the names of the early British saints, the names of Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooker, Pearson, Butler, and others. Have not these "aliens" done their duty abundantly, not less to Wales than to other parts of the Christian world, in defence of truth and of religious and civil liberty? Did not the life-blood of her faithful sons drench the field of martyrdom in defence of those principles? Was not the "alien" Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, one of Wales' best friends in the darkest hour of her need, when he gave her the Welsh Bible—its most valued treasure? There is, indeed, a sense in which even Christianity may be termed an alien religion inasmuch as it sprang from a Jewish source. But the great Head of the Church, Jew as He was, claimed to be the Saviour of the World, "the Son of Man"—not the Son of the Jew or of the Gentile exclusively, for the blood of the whole human race ran in His veins, as it does, so to speak, through the whole system of the Church, which is His Body. The Church, though embracing all nationalities alike, is not narrowed to the limits of any particular nationality; but, like her Founder, draws all men to herself.

Robert Morgan,<sup>1</sup> who became Bishop of Bangor, A.D.

---

1. There is a painting of him at Cefn Hall, S. Asaph.

1666, suffered much during the Commonwealth. He resided chiefly at Ilenblas, Anglesey. "He was a man of great prudence in business, good learning, and eloquence in preaching, both in the English and his native tongue, and he perfectly spent and wore himself away by his constant preaching."<sup>1</sup> Bishop Morgan died in 1673, and was buried in Bishop Robinson's tomb in Bangor Cathedral.

Those Welsh clergy who suffered for conscience sake were reinstated in their benefices, within two years of Charles' restoration. The King was, however, a Romanist at heart ; but lacked the courage to avow openly his convictions, and secretly aimed at re-establishing the Roman Catholic religion in England. It was in this reign that the terms Whig and Tory began to be applied to the two great political parties. The former used to designate those opposed to a Roman Catholic Prince, the latter to those who had no objection to such a person occupying the throne.

Although James at his accession declared his intention of upholding the Church and constitution as by law established, he adopted every means, as far as he could, to bring England again under Papal yoke. This alarm was increased by James claiming to himself the power of setting aside, by his own act, the execution of all laws.

James issued a Declaration of Indulgence which he commanded to be read in all churches throughout the kingdom. Seven Bishops refused to obey, and presented a petition to the King. These were Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury ; Lloyd, of S. Asaph ; Turner, of Ely ; Lake, of Chichester ; Ken, of Bath and Wells ; White, of Peterborough ; and Trelawney, of Bristol. There would have been an eighth bishop in this band in the person of a Welshman, William

---

1. Bishop Humphrey's Addition to Wood's Athen ; Oxon.

Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich, and son of the then rector of Llangower, Merionethshire. Like his name sake of S. Asaph, he resisted the royal enroachments on the liberties of the subject, but the letter addressed to him by the Primate summoning him to consultation at Lambeth Palace, "was in spite of all precaution, detained by a postmaster ; and that prelate inferior to none of his brethren in courage and in zeal for the common cause of his order, did not reach London in time."<sub>1</sub>

The Petition was presented by Bishop Lloyd of S. Asaph. The King, on reading it, replied, "this is a standard of rebellion." James sent the Bishops to the Tower, and caused them to be prosecuted for sedition. All the eminent Nonconformists, including Baxter and Howe, declared themselves on the side of the bishops. As the distinguished Prelates were conducted down the river from Whitehall to the Tower, the banks of the Thames were lined with people, who fell on their knees, imploring their blessing, and shouting 'God bless your lordships.' "The demeanour of the seven prelates strengthened the interest which their situation excited. On the evening of the Black Friday, as it was called, on which they were committed, they reached their prison just at the hour of Divine Service. They instantly hastened to the chapel. It chanced that in the Second Lesson were these words : 'In all things approving ourselves as the ministers of God, in much patience, in afflictions, in distresses, in stripes, in imprisonments.' All zealous Churchmen were delighted by this coincidence, and remembered how much comfort a similar coincidence had given, nearly forty years before, to Charles the First, at the time of his death."<sub>2</sub>

In the trial which followed, the Bishops were acquitted,

---

1. Macaulay's *His. of England*, i. 499.

2. *Ibid.*, ii. 367.

amid the unbounded acclamations of the people. In this struggle which ended in victory, Bishop Lloyd of S. Asaph took a leading part. Born at Henblas, Anglesey, in 1627, Lloyd was entered a commoner of Oriel College, Oxford, at the age of eleven years; he removed from thence to New College, and afterwards to Jesus College, where he became Scholar and Fellow at the age of twelve, and took his degree at the age of fourteen. His promotion was very rapid. In 1666, he was chaplain to Charles II. ; in 1667, prebendary of Salisbury Cathedral; and in the same year, Vicar of S. Mary's, Reading, and Archdeacon of Merioneth. In 1672, Dean of Bangor; in 1674, residentiary Canon of Sarum; in 1676, Vicar of S. Martin's, Westminster. In 1680, he became Bishop of S. Asaph. Bishop Lloyd employed his pen in defence of the Church, and was the author of many works, on subjects which formed some of the burning questions of the day. In 1684, he published: "The History of the Government of the Church, as it was in Great Britain and Ireland, when they first received the Christian Religion." Life of Pythagoras; Five Tracts against Popery; Nine occasional Sermons; A Letter to Dr. Wm. Sherlock, 1691, A Discourse of God's ways of disposing Kingdoms, 1691; The Pretences of the French Invasion examined; Explanation of Daniel's Seventy Weeks; Harmony of the Gospel; Chronology of the Bible; Translation into Latin and English of a Greek Epistle of Jeremy, priest of the Eastern Church. He left in MS. a Discourse of Three Orders in the Ministry; History of the Church of England. Lloyd assisted Bishop Wilkins in his Essay towards a real character and Philosophical Language; and it is supposed that he had the chief hand in the *Series Chronologica Olympiadum*. He also assisted Wharton in his *Anglia Sacra*.<sup>1</sup>

---

1. Wood's *Athen, Oxon.*, *Biographia Britannica* Le Neve's *Fasti*, Williams' "Eminent Welshmen."

Of all Bishop Lloyd's literary works, the Welsh Bible which he edited and published at his own expense in 1689, was the most serviceable to his countrymen of Wales. This was a folio edition intended for use in Churches, and was the first Welsh Bible printed in ordinary type—all its predecessors being in black letter. This edition, of which there is an original copy in S. Asaph Cathedral library, contained marginal references by the Bishop himself, and was known as "Bishop Lloyd's Bible."

The struggle which dethroned James II. and placed William, Prince of Orange, on the throne, known in history as the English Revolution, sprang from the deeply rooted attachment of the people to their national Church and civil liberties. And there is much to admire in the courage, wisdom and moderation of the men who then fought the battle of religious and civil liberty.

The crown of England was conferred on William and Mary, his wife, and daughter of James, who were proclaimed King and Queen; but the royal power was confined exclusively to William. In the absence of issue, the succession was settled on the Princess Anne and her children.

---

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

WILLIAM and MARY—1689—1702.

ANNE—1702—1714.

### ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.

|                 |        |                 |            |
|-----------------|--------|-----------------|------------|
| John Tillotson, | 1691—4 | Thomas Tenison, | 1694—1715. |
|-----------------|--------|-----------------|------------|

#### BISHOPS OF S. ASAPH.

|                    |            |
|--------------------|------------|
| William Lloyd,     | 1680—92.   |
| Edward Jones,      | 1692—1703. |
| George Hooper,     | 1703—4.    |
| William Beveridge, | 1704—8.    |
| William Fleetwood, | 1708—1714. |

#### BISHOPS OF BANGOR.

|                     |            |
|---------------------|------------|
| Humphrey Humphreys, | 1689—1701. |
| John Evans,         | 1701—1716. |

#### BISHOP OF S. DAVIDS.

|                |             |
|----------------|-------------|
| Thomas Watson, | 1687--1705. |
| George Bull,   | 1705—10.    |
| Phillip Bisse, | 1710—13.    |
| Adam Otley,    | 1713—24.    |

#### BISHOPS OF LLANDAFF.

|               |            |
|---------------|------------|
| William Beaw, | 1679—1706. |
| John Tyler,   | 1706—25.   |

THE oath of allegiance to William was declined by Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, and by Bishops Turner of Ely ; Frampton of Gloucester ; Ken of Bath and Wells ; White of Peterborough ; Lloyd of Norwich, all known as Non-jurors, and they were deprived ; Thomas, Bishop of Worcester, and Lake of Chichester, who also refused to take the oath, died before they could be deprived. Many of the clergy for the same reason lost their benefices, most of the nonjuring bishops were the same men who had gone to the Tower because they resisted the claims of James. While they suffered imprisonment cheerfully for that resistance, they resigned their sees in preference to a violation of their oath of allegiance to him. Two of the eight non-juring bishops were Welshmen, Lloyd of Norwich, and Thomas of Worcester. The former was the son of Edward Lloyd, rector of Llangower, Merionethshire--1645--1685—Educated

at S. John's College, Cambridge, he was Chaplain to Charles ii. in 1675, Bishop of Llandaff, translated to Peterborough in 1679, and from thence to Norwich in 1685. In 1691, he was deprived. He died in 1710.

William Thomas, Bishop of Worcester, was descended from an ancient Carmarthenshire family. Educated at S. John's and Jesus Colleges, Oxford, of which latter college he became fellow and tutor. He was vicar of Penbryn, Cardiganshire, and of Langharn, with the rectory of Llansadurnen annexed. He was deprived in 1644 by the Parliament Committee, and was obliged to keep a private school in the county, to support his house and family, during which time they often lacked the common necessities of life. At the Restoration, he was made chantor of S. David's; in 1661, rectory of Llanbedr Velvre. In 1677, he became Bishop of S. David's, with which he held the Deanery of Worcester in commendam. Bishop Thomas was popular among all classes in his native diocese; for he spoke their language, and had been a fellow sufferer with many of them during the Commonwealth. "His behaviour confirmed their expectations, his generous temper agreed with theirs, but his chief concern was not so much to please their humours, as to correct their morals, and save their souls; to promote true piety and goodness, and to sow the seeds of holiness among them. He began to repair the palaces at Brecon and Abergwili; he preached frequently in several parts of his diocese in the language of the country, and was very instrumental in procuring a new edition of the Welsh Bible. Having being Bishop of S. David's six years, he was translated to the see of Worcester in 1683, and was conducted to his palace by the gentry and clergy of his diocese, where they were entertained very handsomely, and ever after found a plentiful table and hearty welcome; he

being always of opinion that in order to amend the morals of the people, the first step was to gain their acquaintance and affection. Upon this principle, he was a great lover of hospitality and charity; the poor of the neighbourhood were daily fed at his door, and he sent provisions twice a week to the common prison, besides very large sums given where he saw occasion . . . . He used to say, that no bishops or priest was to enrich himself, or raise his family, with the revenues of the church, that the sacred canons forbade it; and that for his part he was resolved none of his should be the richer for them, as he was only God's steward, and bound to dispense them to his glory in works of charity and piety."<sup>1</sup> In the conflict of the seven Bishops with James ii, Bishop Thomas sided with his brethren, and refused to distribute the King's Declaration among his clergy.<sup>2</sup> Bishop Thomas died June 25, 1689, and was, by his own wish, buried in the cloisters of Worcester cathedral. He published in his lifetime, "An Apology for the Church of England," 1678—9; "A sermon preached at Carmarthen Assizes," 1657; "The Mammon of Unrighteousness," a sermon preached in Worcester cathedral. His "Letter to the Clergy;" and the "Roman Oracles silenced," were published after his death.<sup>3</sup>

Unlike the majority of his countrymen, Bishop Lloyd of S. Asaph, did not sympathize with the nonjurors; and took the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, and heartily concurred in the Revolution which dethroned James. Lloyd Bishop of S. Asaph, whose piety and learning commanded general respect, continued to the end of his life to believe

---

1. "Eminent Welshmen," p. 489.

2. Macaulay's "History of England," i. 503.

3. Nash's "History of Worcestershire." Wood's Athen, Oxon.

that a fraud had been practised,"<sup>1</sup> in the matter of the birth of the pretender, who claimed to be the lawful son of James ii. King William rewarded Lloyd for his fidelity, by appointing him lord almoner, and translating him to the see of Lichfield in 1692, and from thence to Worcester in 1699. While he was Bishop, Lloyd published in 1690, a folio edition of the Welsh Bible, with marginal references by himself, and was known as "Bishop Lloyd's Bible." This is the first Welsh Bible printed in ordinary type—its predecessors being all in black letter. A man of many parts, and highly gifted intellectually, his character has been described as vacillating, unscrupulous and timeserving. His powerful defence of his Church and country in trying times, however, seems hardly consistent with this unfavourable estimate of his public character. Macaulay<sup>2</sup> speaks of him as "a pious, honest and learned man, but of slender judgment, and half crazed by his persevering endeavours to extract from the Book of Daniel, and from the Revelation some information about the King of France." Bishop Lloyd's line of public action was not altogether regardless of the force of circumstances in which he was placed, nor did he always rise superior to them. Circumstances, which with some people pass for nothing, give in reality to every political principle its distinguishing colour and discriminating effect. Happy is the man, whatever his calling, who has never been hurried by party feeling into any action which he has afterwards had cause to regret; and happier still the man who has never damaged himself and a sacred cause by giving way to sordid and worldly motives. Occasions do not make a man frail, but they shew what he is. Notwithstanding his failings, Lloyd was an eminent prelate who fought the battles of the church bravely, and

---

1. Macaulay's 'History of England, i. 560.

2. History of England, i. p. 499.

played a distinguished part in the affairs of the nation in perilous times. He deserves the gratitude of Welsh people for the scholarly edition of the Welsh Bible, which he edited himself and gave his countrymen at his own charges. Bishop Lloyd died August 30, 1717, at Hartlebury Castle, age ninety one years, and was buried in the church of Fladbury, near Evesham, of which parish his son was rector.<sup>1</sup>



In an age which produced so much strife—ecclesiastical and political—it is not surprising that a worldly spirit had seized even the Bishops and the clergy, whose devotion to their holy calling was not what might have been expected, in consequence of which their high office was not held in that respect which was its due, during this and the two succeeding reigns. But there was a blue speck in the clouded sky of the Church just before the death of William. The Society for promoting Christian Knowledge was founded in 1698. Never was such a Society more needed. The over-strictness of the Puritans and the excesses of the Court of Charles ii, had produced a disgraceful disregard of even the appearance of religion, and a spirit of profaneness, which shamelessly asked whether there was any need of a religion at all, and whether the Bible was to be revered as God's Word. Atheism denied the existence of a God : Deism, while admitting a God of nature, denied the God of the Bible ; Arianism and Socinianism denied the Divinity of Christ. This was called *free thinking*, and became the fashionable creed of the period. This sad state of things moved to their very depths the pity and the zeal of a few pious

---

2. 'Eminent Welshmen,' p. 288,

members of the Church ; who became the founders of the S.P.C.K. what was in its origin a private movement became eventually part of the organic system of the Church ; and Wales is as deeply indebted for its benefactions as any other part of the empire. Nor was the Church altogether insensible to its obligations to the work of Foreign Missions in the formation of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts, founded in 1701.

Anne, the last of the Stuarts, was a popular and good Queen, exemplary as a wife and mother, and was a great benefactress to the Church, to which she was deeply attached. She made all efforts to restore to the Church the revenues it had lost at the time of the Reformation. The first fruits, originally an exaction of the Pope from every new incumbent of a benefice, had been appropriated by the Crown. Anne settled these on a corporation for the augmentation of small benefices, which is now in full operation in England and Wales, and is known as "Queen Anne's Bounty." This gift the Queen gave on the 6th February 1704, which was her birthday and also a Sunday, as a birthday offering to the poorer clergy of the Church.

Elis Wyn o Las Ynys flourished in this reign, and his name in connection with Welsh literature stands prominently forward. He published in 1761, a Welsh translation of Jeremy Taylor's, "Rule and Exercise of Holy Living," which he dedicated to Bishop Humphreys of Bangor, at whose advise he took Holy Orders, who also preferred him to the rectory of Llanfair, cum Llandanwg and Llanbedr-jexta—Harlech. His "Gweledigaethau y Bardd Cwsg," or "The Visions of the Sleeping Bard," which appeared in 1703, is his great work, and is much admired ; and, for literary style, is one of the finest productions in the Welsh language, and still a standard work. The plan of it is after Quvedo's Visions, from

which work no doubt Elis Wyn borrowed much; but the subject matter is original. A prose work written in poetic language, the author denounces with great boldness the immoralities of the times, and points out with touching tenderness the beauties of a life of holiness. The ecclesiastical and political events of the period also appear in the "Visions." With all the horrors of the Commonwealth in his mind, Elis Wyn places Cromwell, with Mahomet and some of the Popes, in hell.

In the year 1710, Elis Wyn was deputed by the Welsh Bishops to revise a new edition of the Welsh Book of Common Prayer, and to correct its defects of translation. This was printed in folio, with numerous improvements, which, however, could not be pronounced exhaustive, as the Welsh Prayer Book still retains some blemishes of translation. These defects have now, however, acquired a sacredness by long use that even the best Welsh scholars would be slow to correct them. Elis Wyn also wrote an excellent exposition of the Church Catechism in Welsh; and among his many poetical works are some new versions of the Psalms, and he was also a hymn writer. He wrote another work entitled "Gweledigaeth y Nef," or the "Visions of Heaven;" but having been charged with plagiarism in the matter of his first publication, and that it was merely a translation from the Spanish work of Don Quevedo, he in anger threw the MS. into the fire.<sup>1</sup> Elis Wyn died in aged 63, and was buried under the altar in Llanfair Church.

Bishop Humphreys, the friend and patron of Elis Wyn, was educated at Jesus College, Oxford, of which he was scholar and fellow. He was ordained deacon and priest in 1670, by his father in law, Bishop Robert Morgan of Bangor, and collated the same day to the rectory of Llanfrothen;

---

1. "Eminent Welshmen." p. 549.

in 1672, rector of Trawsfynydd: in 1680, he was Dean of Bangor, and in 1689, Bishop of Bangor. In 1701 he was translated to Hereford, where he died, November 20, 1712, and was buried near the altar of that cathedral. "He was a person of excellent virtues during the whole course of his life, and in his latter years, of a piety so extraordinary, as has but few examples."<sup>1</sup> Bishop Humphreys was a learned antiquary, and wrote memoirs of eminent Welshmen, in addition to those which appear in Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, printed in the last edition of that work.

A celebrated Bishop of S. David's from 1705 to 1710, was the pious and learned George Bull, whose memory Welshmen delight to honour. Anglo-Welsh Bishops have been charged with want of sympathy with their flocks; but Bishop Bull was not one of them. So impressed was this eminent prelate with the good work of Vicar Prichard, that he desired to be buried by his side. "When the Bishop was asked where he would be buried, whether at Caermarthen or Brecknock, he returned this answer, *where the tree falleth, there let it lie*; meaning, that they should bury him in the parish church of Llandovey; and what still further inclined him to this determination was the extraordinary value and respect which the Bishop expressed to the memory of Mr. Rees Prichard, formerly Vicar of that place, interred there, upon the account of his great and celebrated piety, and the usefulness of his excellent poems in the Welsh tongue; which are in great repute among the inhabitants of that country, as well for the plainness of the language, and the easiness and smoothness of the measures, as for the importance of the subjects upon which he wrote; the whole book being in a manner an entire body of practical divinity, in which several of the natives, even

---

2. "Eminent Welshmen."

those that are illiterate, are so well versed, that they will very pertinently quote authorities out of this book for their faith and practice. But the Bishop was prevailed upon by the desire of his wife to consent to be buried at Brecknock, it being the place where she designed to pass her sorrowful widowhood, and consequently thereby should have an assurance of lying in the same grave with him; and the matter was so ordered.”<sup>1</sup>

Burton, in his *Life*<sup>2</sup> of Bishop Bull gives in full a draft Pastoral Letter, addressed by the Bishop to the clergy of the Diocese of S. David's, but which was never published, and was found in an unfinished state among his papers after his death. In this Letter, the Bishop urges (1) the establishing of Family Prayers in every family in every parish; (2) the founding of Charity Schools in every parish; (3) to endeavour to dispose all parents that are of ability in your parishes to supply each of their children before they marry, or are otherwise settled in the world, with a small library, containing books of practical divinity to the value of £3 or £4, fixed in a little press with shelves proper for that purpose; (4) that notice should be given in every parish throughout the diocese that the Book of Common Prayer in Welsh was lately printed, that all the parishioners may supply themselves therewith. And the Bishop expresses the opinion that they would be universally bought, “especially since they will be sold for about eighteen pence each”; (5) that the clergy endeavour to use their interest with the justices of the peace to suppress vice and immorality.

It is interesting to note that the line of action marked out by the Bishop in this Pastoral as regards Charity Schools,

---

1. *Life of Bp. Bull*, by Burton, p. 404.

2. pp. 377—386.

was successfully carried out a few years later by Griffith Jones, Llanddwror, who was ordained deacon by Bishop Bull in the year 1709,—by means of the Schools he founded, known as the “Welsh Circulating Schools,” which were the precursors of the National Schools, founded under the auspices of the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the principles of the Established Church.

---

## CHAPTER XXXV.

GEORGE I.—1714—1727.

GEORGE II.—1727—1760.

### ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.

|                 |            |
|-----------------|------------|
| William Wake,   | 1715—1737. |
| John Potter,    | 1737—1747. |
| Thomas Herring, | 1747—1758. |
| Matthew Hutton, | 1757—1758. |
| Thomas Secker,  | 1758—1768. |

### BISHOPS OF S. ASAPH.

|                  |          |
|------------------|----------|
| John Wynne,      | 1715—27. |
| Francis Hare,    | 1727—32. |
| Thomas Tanner,   | 1732—36. |
| Isaac Maddox,    | 1736—43. |
| John Thomas,     | 1743—44. |
| Samuel Lisle,    | 1744—48. |
| R. Hay-Drummond, | 1748—61. |

### BISHOPS OF BANGOR.

|                   |          |
|-------------------|----------|
| Benjamin Hoadly,  | 1716—21. |
| Richard Reynolds, | 1721—23. |
| William Baker,    | 1723—28. |
| Thomas Sherlock,  | 1728—34. |
| Charles Cecil,    | 1734—38. |
| Thomas Herring,   | 1738—43. |
| Matthew Hutton,   | 1743—47. |
| Zachariah Pearce, | 1747—69. |

### BISHOPS OF S. DAVID'S.

|                      |          |
|----------------------|----------|
| Adam Otley,          | 1713—24. |
| Richard Smallbrooke, | 1724—31. |
| Elias Lydall,        | 1731—32. |
| Nicholas Claggett,   | 1732—43. |
| Edward Willes,       | 1743—44. |
| Richard Trevor,      | 1744—52. |
| Anthony Ellis,       | 1752—61. |

### BISHOPS OF LLANDAFF.

|                   |          |
|-------------------|----------|
| John Tyler,       | 1706—25. |
| Robert Clavering, | 1725—29. |
| John Harris,      | 1729—39. |
| Matthew Manson,   | 1739—40. |
| John Gilbert,     | 1740—49. |
| Edward Cressett,  | 1749—55. |
| Richard Newcome,  | 1755—61. |

THE history of the Church in Wales during the reign of George I. is a sad one; for he inaugurated the disastrous policy of appointing monoglot Englishmen to Welsh sees. The episcopate was converted into a political machinery to crush out Jacobism. The English bishoprics were also regarded more as political rewards, than spiritual functions of grave and solemn responsibility. The policy in England, as in Wales, was identical, in so far as it was an attempt to put down Jacobism, and strengthen the Hanov-

erian dynasty. The Bishops in England, indeed, spoke English, and were therefore not out of touch with their flocks; but in Wales, the language of the people was to the Bishops a foreign tongue. Writing in 1739, when the policy had been in operation 24 years, Griffith Jones, the famous rector of Llanddwror, says: "We cannot help thinking that English sermons to Welsh congregations are neither less absurd nor more edifying than Welsh preaching would be in the centre of England, or Latin service in the Church of Rome. In some respects a greater severity this than is imposed by the Romish Anti-Christ, who, notwithstanding her robes are red with the blood of the saints, yet ordains that preaching be in the known tongue through all her provinces."<sup>1</sup>

Warburton writes of this period as "one in which religion had lost hold upon the minds of the people." The English Revolution of 1688 was not without its evil effects at this corrupt age; for whilst it established civil and religious freedom, it, at the same time, fostered the spirit of free thinking with regard to revealed religion, which had by this time developed into a kind of deism acknowledging, in some form, the existence of a supreme Being, but denying the truths of the Christian Religion. Reason, not revelation, was the only court of appeal in religious matters.

The famous theological discussion, known as the "Bangorian Controversy," opened early in the reign of George I., and was caused by a sermon preached, March 31st, 1717, by Benjamin Hoadly, Bishop of Bangor, before the King, on the words, "My kingdom is not of this world." The immediate object of the discourse was to prove that the Kingdom of Christ, and the authorities by which it is supported,

---

1. "Welsh Piety," A.D. 1739.

are entirely of a spiritual character, and that there is no visible Church. He denied the necessity of episcopacy and of any particular confession of faith, and that the Church of England, and every other form of church government, were nothing more than human institutions for promoting and maintaining Christian Knowledge. Hoadly denied the power of the Church to compel anyone to external communion, or to pass any sentence which should determine the condition of men with respect to the favour or displeasure of God. These extreme Latitudinarian views were alarming from the lips of a bishop in a Church which taught the doctrines he denied. Both high and low Church parties condemned his views, and opposed his appointment to the see of Bangor ; but the Whig Government which nominated him supported their nominee at all hazards, chiefly on political grounds, because Hoadley was a strong Whig, and denounced the doctrine of the divine right of Kings, by means of which the Jacobites were endeavouring to reinstate the Stuarts on the throne. And the people of Wales were strong Jacobites. Hoadly was the first Englishman appointed to the see of Bangor since the Reformation. Bishop Evans, a native Welshman, who had held the see fourteen years, was translated to Meath, in Ireland, to make room for Hoadly, the heretic, though he was powerless to do much mischief in his own diocese at least, for he was dumb in the language of the vast majority of the people committed to his charge. As Welsh people supported the Stuarts, Hoadly's appointment was distasteful to them on political grounds, apart from his heretical views. Although Hoadly held the see of Bangor five years, he never set foot in the diocese from apprehension of party fury, which ran very high. Nor were his fears groundless. Mistaking an Irish Bishop for Hoadly, as he was passing through Bangor on his way to Ireland, the unfortunate prelate received such

rough treatment at the hands of the inhabitants that, hearing of it, Hoadly vowed he would never reside among them. He was translated, probably at his own request, to Hereford, in 1721.

The Lower House of Convocation in the year 1717, unanimously condemned Hoadly's writings, and the sermon in particular. As there was some probability of a difference arising between the Upper and Lower Houses of Convocation concerning Hoadly's works, Government prorogued Convocation without giving it an opportunity of discussing the subject, and was not allowed to meet again for the despatch of business, for 138 years, i.e., from the year 1717 to the year 1855, when, through the efforts chiefly of Bishop Wilberforce, Convocation was revived, and has continued to meet annually ever since as the ancient and constitutional mouth-piece of the Church. The action of the Government in the year 1717 in depriving the Church of her ancient right to express herself through Convocation, proved to be the signal for a long and celebrated war of pens, known as the "Bangorian Controversy," which was carried on with great bitterness, and convulsed the whole kingdom. Hoadly's writings, though marked by considerable ability, were open to some objections on the score of taste, and Pope said :

"Swift, for a closer style,  
But Hoadly for a period of a mile."

Hoadly's ablest opponents were William Law, author of the "Serious Call," and Dr. Sherlock, Dean of Chichester, who became Bishop of Bangor in the year 1728, from whence he was translated to Salisbury in 1734.

The Church shewed no signs of improvement during the unpropitious reign of George II. Her preaching was cold ; her services formal ; her beautiful liturgy reduced to a miserable duett between parson and clerk ; many of her clergy

non-resident ; and her bishops too often inclined to be politicians rather than shepherds of souls. There were, of course, noble exceptions. The natural consequence was that dissent was greatly strengthened, and earnest minded men were strongly tempted to seek in irregularly constituted societies devotional exercises and scope for religious activity, which were to some extent lacking in the Church. This is largely the history of the rise and progress of sectarianism in England and Wales. Out of this darkness, however, came one of the greatest lights of Christianity in the person of one of its deepest thinkers, Joseph, afterwards Bishop, Butler, at one time a Presbyterian Nonconformist. An examination into the principles upon which Dissent was based resulted in so great a dissatisfaction with them, that he determined to conform to the National Church. All arguments and efforts to get him to continue a Nonconformist proved absolutely futile. Perceiving this, his father consented to enter him as a commoner of Oriel College, Oxford, in 1714. Speaking of the Christianity of this period, Butler says : "It is come, I know not how, to be taken for granted by many persons that Christianity is not so much as a subject of enquiry, but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious. And accordingly they treat it as if, in the present age, this was an agreed point among all people of discernment, and nothing remained but to set it up as a principal subject of mirth and ridicule, as if it were by way of reprisals for its having so long interrupted the pleasures of the world." Such was the condition of things when Butler took in hand to write his famous work, the "*Analogy of Religion, natural and revealed, to the constitution and course of nature.*" This work is an appeal to the facts of our daily life and experiences against the reasoning of the Diests, and it stemmed the tide of infidelity which threatened to sweep everything before it, and diverted the national thoughts into the orthodox channel. Butler

has, so to speak, formed a link between the divine and the human, between the rational things of life and the revealed things of the Bible. Although Butler lived in an age characterized by the vigour of its theological and sceptical controversy, the charm of the "Analogy" is that it is not written in a controversial spirit.

Bishop Butler died in 1752. The following story is related of him: "When Bishop Butler lay on his deathbed, he called for his chaplain and said, 'Though I have endeavoured to avoid sin, and to please God, to the utmost of my power, yet from the consciousness of perpetual infirmities, I am still afraid to die.' 'My Lord,' said the chaplain, 'you have forgotten that Jesus Christ is a Saviour.' 'True,' was the answer, 'but how shall I know that He is a Saviour to me?' 'My Lord, it is written, 'Him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out.' 'True,' said the Bishop, 'and I am surprised, that though I have read that Scripture a thousand times over, I never felt its virtue till this moment; and now I die happy!'



Bishop Butler, 1692—1752.

Butler's great work, which first appeared in 1736, two years before his elevation to the episcopate, influenced and gave a tone to the preaching of that and subsequent generations in England and Wales. Future life, immortality, the moral government of God, the Atonement, the Mediation of Christ, formed the all absorbing topics of the pulpit.

The "Analogy," which has been translated into the Welsh language, is largely appreciated by

Welsh people so naturally fond of theological disquisitions, nor are its arguments lost in their effects on the religious life of Wales,

As regards Wales, Walpole, the Prime Minister, carried out the anti-Welsh policy inaugurated by George I. This was an additional factor which helped to increase the power of Welsh dissent. As a Welsh clergyman, the leading light in Wales during this reign was, beyond doubt, Griffith Jones, rector of Llanddawror—exemplary as a parish-priest, preacher, and the pioneer of popular education in Wales. He is known as the "Morning Star" of religious revival in Wales. As a Welsh preacher he was unrivalled, no building could contain the immense crowds that flocked to hear him when he made his preaching excursions through some parts of Wales, which he usually did at Eastertide and Whitsuntide, for the purpose of preaching against the immoralities and indecencies of the wakes and fairs held at those seasons. His sermons on these occasions were delivered in the open air, and it is related that he seldom preached without producing a deep impression, and are described by a contemporary writer as "effecting a grasp on the conscience." Speaking of those who dissented<sup>1</sup> in his time, Griffith Jones says: "It was not any scruple of conscience about the principles or orders of the Established Church that gave occasion to scarce one in ten of the Dissenters in this country to separate from us at first.....No, Sir, they generally dissent at first for no other reason than for want of plain, practical, pressing and zealous preaching, in a language and dialect they are able to understand; and freedom of friendly access to advise about their spiritual state."<sup>2</sup> In his "Welsh Piety,"

---

1. "In 1736, there were only six Dissenting meeting houses in the whole of North Wales." Johnes "On the Causes of Dissent in Wales," p. 10.

2. "Practical Piety."

the same writer gives a gloomy account of the religious history of Wales in his time. Griffith Jones employed his pen in the English and Welsh languages in the cause of his Church and country. Among his contributions to Welsh literature were : "An Exposition of the Church Catechism,"—which has passed through many editions since his death, and is now in use—"A Call to the Throne of Grace"; "The necessity of instructing the ignorant"; "A collection of the Poems of Rhys Prichard." His English works are—"Platform of Christianity," being an exposition of the "XXXIX Articles of the Church of England"; "Letter to a clergyman evincing the necessity of teaching the Poor in Wales;" "The Christian Covenant, or Baptismal Vow." As a parish priest he was exemplary. Every Saturday evening before Communion Sunday, it was Griffith Jones' custom to read the service in church, and after the second lesson, in accordance with the rubric, he would catechise the congregation in a plain, homely way, on Scripture subjects. As an inducement to the poor and older parishioners to attend, he established a custom of distributing white bread, imposing on each recipient the task of committing to memory certain portions of Scripture—a custom still existing in every Welsh Sunday School—which were to be repeated by them at the distribution of the bread. This plan of catechising proved useful as a means of instructing the ignorant—for few could read in those days.

But the fame of Griffith Jones rests chiefly on his labours as the pioneer of popular education, in the system of "Circulating Schools" which he founded. These schools were open to scholars of every age. In the space of thirty years from the time the first experiment had been tried in his own parish with the "Sacrament money"<sup>1</sup>—or the offertory,

---

1. "Practical Piety."

which he devoted for the purpose of founding the first school in his own parish—no less than 3,495 schools were established, and the number of scholars from six to seventy years of age who had in that period of time been taught to read their Welsh Bibles, was 158,327. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge gave valuable help to these schools by liberal grants of books, and published two special editions of the Welsh Bible, in 1746 and 1752, each edition numbering 15000 copies, for the use of the Circulating Schools. “The plan on which Griffith Jones proceeded was simply this: He first engaged a body of schoolmasters, and then distributed them in different directions over the country. The duty of these men was to teach the people to read the Scriptures in the Welsh language, to catechise them, to instruct them in psalmody, and to promote their advancement by every means in their power. They were sent in the first instance, to the nearest town or village where their assistance had been requested, and then, having taught all who were desirous of instruction, they were to pass on to the next district where a similar feeling had been manifested. In the course of time they were to revisit the localities whence they had first started, and resume the work of education anew on the youth who had sprung up during their absence, and thus making a continual circuit of the whole country to present to every generation as it arose, the means of knowledge, and the incentives to virtuous principle.”<sup>1</sup> In 1760, the Schools numbered 87 in North Wales, with 3,158 scholars; in South Wales 128, with 5,529 scholars. At his death, Griffith Jones left £7,000 in the hands of his friend Mrs. Bevan, as trustee, for the support of these schools; and she on her death left an additional legacy of £10,000 for the same purpose. The whole of this sum of £17,000 was thrown into Chancery on the death of Mrs. Bevan,

---

1. Johnes, “On the Causes of Dissent in Wales,” p. 18.

where it continued from 1779 to 1809, during which time it accumulated to £30,000. From 1809 to the present day this Charity, now known as "Madam Bevan's Charity," has been in full operation in Wales, yielding an annual income of £944 12s. Its grants are made to poor districts in support of schools, one condition being that the curriculum must embrace religious teaching. Griffith Jones died April 8, 1761, aged 78 years, and was buried in Llanddawror Church, of which parish he had been rector 45 years. A mural tablet, erected at the cost of his friend Mrs. Bevan, marks his grave. But he has written his name in indelible characters on the tablets of the Welshman's heart. He received no recognition of his labours beyond the rectory of Llanddawror, conferred upon him by Sir John Phillips of Picton Castle, who, unsolicited, chose him on account of his piety and learning. Some time afterwards he married his patron's sister. There was, indeed, no man living more fitted for a Welsh bishopric than Griffith Jones, and whose heart beat more strongly and sympathetically with the Church of his forefathers. He was prominent as an organizer. He founded a seminary at Llanddawror for the education of young men preparing for the ministry of the Church of England—the precursor of S. David's College, Lampeter. Among Griffith Jones' pupils were Thomas Charles of Bala, Howel Harris, William Williams, Pantycelyn, and Peter Williams—men destined to play a prominent part in the ecclesiastical history of Wales during the next reign. Their preceptor set his pupils a high standard of integrity in his own character, infusing into their youthful minds a measure of that spirit, which made him one of the most prominent landmarks in the history of the Church of the Cymry during the last century.

The name of Goronwy Owen, priest and poet, belongs to

this period. Born in 1722, of humble parents, in the parish of Llanfairmathafarneithaf, Anglesey. He, through the influence of his mother, but against the wishes of his father, continued in school till he was fifteen, and then took an assistant mastership at Pwllheli Grammar School. Through the kindness of a wealthy patron he matriculated at Jesus College, Oxford, where he graduated. He was ordained in 1745, by the Bishop of Bangor, and held successively the curacies of Llanfairmathafarneithaf, Osswestry, Donnington, and Uppingham. He ultimately migrated to America, and became assistant master at Williamsburg College, Virginia. He never returned to his native land, and the date of his death is uncertain, but is supposed to have happened in 1770. The last authentic account of him dates from 1767. Goronwy Owen was an excellent classical scholar, well versed in Hebrew and Chaldee, and as a Welsh poet he stood in the first rank; but he was of very intemperate habits. Some admirers of his genius erected a monument to his memory in Bangor Cathedral in 1831.

---

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

GEORGE III.—1760—1820.

GEORGE IV.—1820—30.

WILLIAM IV.—1830—7.

### ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.

|                       |          |                 |            |
|-----------------------|----------|-----------------|------------|
| Thomas Secker,        | 1758—68. | John Moore,     | 1783—1805. |
| Frederick Cornwallis, | 1768—83. | Charles Manners |            |
|                       |          | Sutton,         | 1805—28.   |
|                       |          | William Howley, | 1828—48.   |

### BISHOPS OF S. ASAPH.

|                   |            |
|-------------------|------------|
| Richard Newcome,  | 1761—69.   |
| Jonathan Shipley, | 1769—89.   |
| Samuel Halifax,   | 1789—90.   |
| Lewis Bagot,      | 1790—1802. |
| Samuel Horsley,   | 1802—6.    |
| William Cleaver,  | 1806—15.   |
| John Luxmoore,    | 1815—1830. |
| William Carey,    | 1830—46.   |

### BISHOPS OF BANGOR.

|                      |            |
|----------------------|------------|
| John Egerton,        | 1756—69.   |
| John Ewer,           | 1769—75.   |
| John Moore,          | 1775—83.   |
| John Warren,         | 1783—1800. |
| William Cleaver,     | 1800—6.    |
| John Randolph        | 1806—9.    |
| Henry W. Majendie,   | 1809—30.   |
| Christopher Bethell, | 1830—59.   |

### BISHOPS OF S. DAVID'S.

|                     |            |
|---------------------|------------|
| Samuel Squire,      | 1761—6.    |
| Robert Lowth,       | 1766—6.    |
| Charles Moss,       | 1766—74.   |
| James Yorke,        | 1774—9.    |
| John Warren,        | 1779—83.   |
| Edward Smallwell,   | 1783—8.    |
| Samuel Horsley,     | 1788—94.   |
| William Stuart,     | 1794—1800. |
| Lord George Murray, | 1800—3.    |
| Thomas Burgess,     | 1803—25.   |
| John B. Jenkinson,  | 1830—46.   |

### BISHOPS OF LLANDAFF.

|                        |            |
|------------------------|------------|
| John Ewer,             | 1761—9.    |
| Jonatha Shipley,       | 1769—      |
| Hon. Shute Barrington, | 1769—82.   |
| Richard Watson,        | 1782—1816. |
| Herbert Marsh,         | 1816—19.   |
| William Van Mildert,   | 1819—26.   |
| Charles R. Sumner,     | 1826—28.   |
| Edward Copleston,      | 1828—49.   |

THE long reign of George III. is an eventful and melancholy period in the religious history of Wales. Out of the thirty Bishops appointed to Welsh sees during this reign, not one of them knew Welsh. Some of them, however, were distinguished for piety and learning—Horsley, Watson, Burgess, and Van Mildert especially. But it is not to be concealed that Watson, regarded as a model

bishop of his time, only visited his diocese a few times during the thirty years he held the see of Llandaff. He, however, did valuable service to Christianity by his rejoinder to the infidel writings of Tom Paine, by destroying their pernicious effects among the masses. Watson wrote in the simplest style suited to the understanding of the unlearned, and so caught the popular ear, while Paley wrote his "Evidences of Christianity" for the better educated. Abuse of episcopal patronage together with the system of pluralities, absenteeism, lack of sympathy with the language and sentiments of the Welsh people, brought the Church in Wales into disfavour among the masses. A flagrant instance of the abuse of episcopal patronage—by no means a solitary case—comes from Bangor diocese, when Bishop Egerton, in 1766, thrust Dr. Bowles into the rectory of Trefdraeth, Anglesey, at the age of seventy two, and he was as ignorant of the Welsh language as his parishoners were of the English; for it appeared in evidence in a suit instituted in the Court of Arches by the Cymmrodorion Society, supported by Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, that out of 500 souls in the parish only five or six could speak English. The argument advanced by counsel for the defence was—"Though the doctor does not understand the language, he is in possession, and cannot be turned out. Wales is a conquered country; it is proper to introduce the English language, and it is the duty of the Bishops to endeavour to promote Englishmen, in order to introduce the language. It has always been the policy of the legislature to introduce the language into Wales."<sup>1</sup> The Judge said—"It is proper that the Bishops in Wales should take such order for the cure of souls as to appoint pastors that are acquainted with the language of the country. It is the primitive law of the

---

1. Depositions, &c., p. 59.

Church, and is the law at this time. I am of opinion that a want of knowledge of the Welsh language *is a good cause of refusal* in the Bishop, and that he ought to refuse him if he be incompetent. The inhabitants of Wales have great reason to complain of such presentations."<sup>1</sup> The appointment of Dr. Bowles was, however, confirmed, and he died in possession of the benefice.

Evan Evans (1730—89,) or Ieuan Brydydd Hir, the celebrated Welsh poet, belongs to this period. He was educated at Merton College, Oxford. After taking Holy Orders, he applied his talents to the cultivation of Welsh literature in transcribing Welsh MSS., and had access to most Welsh libraries containing ancient MSS. Evans received pecuniary support in this work from Bishop Warren of Bangor, Sir Watkin W. Wynn, and Lewis Morris, the celebrated Welsh poet. In 1764, Evans published a volume of Ancient Welsh Poems, with Latin translations, prefaced by a learned "Dissertatio de Bardis." This work placed him in the first rank as an antiquary and critic, and furnished Gray with matter for some of his poems.<sup>2</sup> Evans was honoured with the correspondence of Bishop Percy, who had a high opinion of his abilities. He published, in 1772, an English poem, "The Love of our Country." In 1776, he published two volumes of Welsh Sermons, translated from the works of Tillotson and others. In one notice of him, it is stated that having past a great part of his life in the cultivation of Welsh literature, "without being able to procure the smallest promotion in the Church, his fortitude deserted him, and to chase away his vexations, he fell into a habit of drinking that at times produced symptoms of de-

---

1. Considerations on the Illegality of preferring to Welsh Benefices. Clergymen ignorant of Welsh," by J. Jones, M.A., Fellow of Queen's College, Oxon.

2. Eminent Welshmen, p. 150.

rangement of mind, which precluded his chance of creating new friends, likely to make reparation for those who ought to have rewarded his merit. Another writer<sup>1</sup> says: "It is a common reproach among the Welsh that the Bishops of Wales, not being natives, have never bestowed that patronage on the cultivators of Welsh literature, which they consider them entitled to; but in the case of Evan Evans, his receiving no promotion in the Church seems fully justified by his notorious, irregular habits, and the very caustic and intemperate preface in English, which is prefixed to his Welsh sermons would necessarily give offence." Dr. Samuel Johnson, in his Notes of his visit to North Wales in 1774, refers to Evan Evans in the following item under Aug. 5, when he dined with Mr. Myddleton of Gwaenynog,—“After dinner, the talk was of preserving the Welsh language. I offered them a scheme. Poor Evan Evans was mentioned as incorrigibly addicted to strong drink.....I recommended the republication of David ap Rhees’ Welsh Grammar. ....At Bodffari, I heard the second lesson read, and the sermon preached in Welsh.....The sound of the Welsh, in a continued discourse, is not unpleasant.”

The rise of Methodism forms one of the most prominent features in the religious history of Wales during the reign of George III. One of the leading spirits of that movement was Daniel Rowlands, Curate of Llangeithio,—the Welsh Whitfield. His diocesan, Bishop Squire, inhibited him, on the ground that he preached in unconsecrated places outside his own parish, regardless of all authority. This was in 1763, when Rowlands was about 50 years of age. The Bishop is said to have remonstrated frequently, but to no purpose. Like Wesley, Rowlands appears to have regarded the whole world as his parish. Although Bishop Squire has

---

1. Williams in "Eminent Welshmen," p. 150

been much blamed by posterity—and his action herein has been judged more by its consequences than *per se*—his action was perfectly justifiable in the interest of order and discipline in his diocese. In the erroneous estimation of some Welsh historians, this inhibition amounted, to use the common phrase, to “turning Rowlands out of the Church.” There are no grounds whatever for such an inference. The inhibition did not apply to the parish of Llangeithio, of which Rowlands was a licensed curate. It only applied to those parishes into which he intruded uninvited. Nor is there evidence to indicate that Rowlands considered himself in any sense turned out of the Church. Nay, he claimed to be a member of the Church up to the day of his death,—which happened Oct. 16, 1790, at the age of 77 years,—a fact sufficiently attested by the following incident. “The last time Rowlands saw Nathaniel his son, in conversing, he said to him : ‘My son,—I have been persecuted till I am tired; but you will be persecuted more; but stand by the Church in spite of all; there will be a great reformation in the Church of England. God has revealed this to me in prayer.’”<sup>1</sup> “This I heard from the Rev. Nathaniel Rowlands himself,” adds the Biographer, “about the year 1826.”

The opposition, referred to in the above extract, was what Daniel Rowlands suffered in consequence of his firm refusal to be a party to the ordination of lay preachers, as had been done by Wesley in England. The great Sunday at Llan-geithio was Communion Sunday, the first Sunday in the month. The communicants on these occasions are said to have numbered between 1,000 and 1,200. This is stated on the authority of an old servant of Rowlands who used to prepare the bread for the Blessed Sacrament. In the administration, Rowlands was assisted by other clergy. Writ-

---

1. Life by Owen, p. 34.

ing in 1839, Owen, Rowlands biographer, says, that he was informed by a clergyman then living, aged 86 years, that he had on one occasion assisted Rowlands at Holy Communion,<sup>1</sup> as one of eight clergy.

Of the many religious revivals which marked the Methodist Movement in Wales at its early stages, the greatest of all, as to duration and effects, broke out in 1762, when Rowlands was reading the Litany. At the words, "By thine agony and bloody sweat," read with such deep pathos as to produce a vivid impression of the agony—or "intense agony," as the Welsh Litany has it—of the Saviour on the minds of the worshippers, that the whole multitude gave expression to their feelings in loud sobbings and ejaculations.

Among Rowlands' coadjutors in the Methodist Movement was William Williams—the Watts of Wales—better known among English people as the author of the popular English hymns, "Guide me, O thou great Jehovah," "O'r those gloomy hills of darkness."<sup>2</sup> His hymns, in English and Welsh, abound in picturesque narrations of the Story of the Cross, told with deep pathos,—

"Beneath thy cross I lay me down,  
And mourn to see thy bloody crown,  
Love drops in blood from every vein,  
Love is the spring of all his pain.

Here, Jesus, I shall ever stay  
And spend my longing hours away,  
Think on thy bleeding wounds and pain,  
And contemplate thy woes again."

No one can read Williams' hymns without loving him, and his name possesses the deepest charm to his country-

1. Life by Owen, p. 34.

2. These hymns, among others, appear in the Earl of Selborne's "**Book of Praise.**"

men, thousands of whom have experienced in the hour of death the soothing influence of his beautiful hymn.

“When I tread the verge of Jordan,  
 Bid my anxious fears subside ;  
 Death of deaths, and hell’s destruction  
 Land me safe on Canaan’s side.  
 Songs of praises, songs of praises,  
 I will ever give to thee.

“Musing on my habitation,  
 Musing on my heav’nly home,  
 Fills my soul with holy longing,  
 Come, my Jesus, quickly come.  
 Vanity is all I see,  
 Lord, I long to be with thee !”

Williams was ordained deacon in 1740, by Bishop Claget of S. David’s, and licensed to the curacy of Llanwrtyd, but he never entered the priesthood. In a letter, dated Jan. 1, 1791, written only ten days before his death, he says: “Exhort the young preachers, next to the Bible, to observe carefully the doctrines of the old reformers, as set forth in the Articles of the Church of England, viz., the Apostles’ Creed, and the Creeds of Nicea and Athanasius. They will see in them the great truths of the Gospel, and the mysteries of God set forth in an excellent way. They are the form of sound words, concerning the great things of God.”

Howell Harris, who on one Sunday morning in 1738, produced such a deep impression on Williams when preaching from a tomb stone in Talgarth Church-yard, was a country gentleman, educated at Oxford University, and intended to take Holy Orders, which, however, he never did. He sympathized warmly with the Methodist Movement, and preached far and wide as a layman. His discourses were generally delivered “in a field ; but at other times in a house, from a wall, a table or anything else.”<sup>1</sup> It

---

<sup>1</sup> Whitfield’s Journal, p. 164.

was in 1736 that Harris formed religious societies or guilds within the Church, with the sole object of deepening the spiritual life of her members in Wales. This point is put clearly by himself in his *Autobiography*,<sup>1</sup> p. 63, in these words: "And observing that many were separating themselves during this revival from the Church to other sects, I thought it my duty to lay before them the following reasons: such as the examples of the old prophets, and other godly persons of old, who remained in the Jewish Church without separating from her greatly as it had degenerated in every way. We also see that our Lord himself with his Apostles clung to the worship of that Church at the hour of prayer, although they knew that her services were about to be abolished. We do not find that the Apostle S. Paul urged the Corinthians to leave the Church at Corinth, although it was guilty of so many irregularities. And our Saviour, after his Ascension, did not exhort the Christians of the seven Churches of Asia to leave the church of which they were members and join another. No; but rather to reform what was amiss among themselves, and to be as salt among others. So now, with respect to ourselves, although we are but poor members of the Church of England, yet, the Lord hath done mighty things in the country through this revival, and he can make us as salt in the Church and the country."

Whitfield, in his *Journal* for 1739, the year in which he visited Wales, says that Harris had by that year established thirty societies in South Wales. It was about this time that Harris met John Wesley at Bristol—a meeting which made a mutual good impression. Harris says that Wesley on that occasion "prayed with much favour and eloquence

---

1. "Hanes Fer o Fywyd Howel Harris Yscwier, a dynwyd allan o'i Ysgrifeniadau ef ei hun."

for Griffith Jones, for myself, and for Wales." In consequence of a dispute between Harris and Daniel Rowlands—who had joined together to make preaching tours through Wales—Harris withdrew from public life, and retired to his estate at Trevecca, where he founded a monastery in which, by 1754,<sup>1</sup> about 100 monks had settled down, with Harris at their head. The institution was supported by voluntary offerings, and the fraternity worshipped regularly in Talgarth Church, and sat apart from the congregation in a gallery set apart for them, and the vicar of the parish administered Holy Communion to them separately. Ultimately, at the request and expense of Lady Huntingdon, Harris converted the monastic buildings into a college for the education of lay preachers to minister in her chapels.<sup>2</sup> Harris died in 1773. On his death-bed he declared himself a member of the Church of England, and desired his body to be buried under the altar in Talgarth Church, near the spot where he was impressed with a sense of his own sinfulness at Holy Communion, when repeating the words of the confession, "the remembrance of them is grievous unto us," &c. On his grave is this inscription—"Near the Altar Table lie the remains of Howel Harris, Esq. Here, where his body lies, he was convinced of sin, had his pardon sealed, and felt the effects of the precious Blood of Christ in the Holy Communion .....A devoted servant of God, and a true member of the Church of England."

The organizer of the Methodist movement in Wales was Thomas Charles of Bala, and he drew up the first "Rules and objects of the Special Societies among the people called the Methodists in Wales, agreed upon at a Quarterly Association, at Bala, June 16 and 17, 1801." In speaking of Welsh

---

1. Johnes' "On the Causes of Dissent in Wales," p. 3.

2. Johnes' "On the Causes of Dissent in Wales," p. 38.

Methodism, it must be understood of the Calvinistic Methodists. No attempt was made by any Wesleyan to preach in the Welsh language before the year 1800, and in that year the Welsh Methodists assumed the name Calvinistic, to distinguish them from their Arminian brethren. What John Wesley was to the latter, Thomas Charles was to the former, and both were graduates of Oxford University. Charles was ordained deacon in 1778, and Priest in 1780, by Bishop Butler of Oxford, and licensed to a curacy in that diocese. He afterwards removed to Wales and served the curacy of Llanymawddwy, Merionethshire, under an absentee rector, who dismissed him on the petition of some ill-disparishioners who complained of his Methodist sympathies. After this he settled at Bala, and endeavoured to obtain another curacy. In a letter, dated Sep. 29, 1783, he says: "I am now waiting to see what the Lord has to do with me, making use of every means in my power to procure some place in the Established Church to officiate; not for the sake of any emoluments I might have, but from a principle of conscience. I can live independent of the Church; but I am a Churchman on principle, and shall therefore on no account leave it."<sup>1</sup> Charles consulted John Newton of Olney in his difficulty, who advised him to return to England and take an English curacy. But there were strong social ties which bound him to Wales, otherwise he would probably have followed Newton's advise. In a letter written about this time to a friend, Charles says that his future wife, an only child, would on no account leave Bala, because of her parents. "I found," he writes, "it would be worse than death to them to be separated from her..... Indeed, when I saw how their minds were affected with the thought of it, I immediately laid aside every such idea."<sup>2</sup>

---

1. *Life and Letters of Thomas Charles*, p. 145.

2. *Ibid*, p. 65.

Charles was married in 1783, and settled down for the rest of his life in a house, still shown, in High St., Bala, one part of which was a drapery establishment, under the supervision of Mrs. Charles, and the other part, on the same ground floor, was Charles' study. Speaking of his first curacy in the diocese of Oxford, Charles writes, "Mr. Mayor would be glad to engage me as before, but I have refused: for I see clearly that I must confine myself to Wales or England, else I shall do good in neither. And I feel much inclined to take Wales, as I did my wife, 'for better, for worse, till death do us part.'" Writing later on, he says: "There are no tidings of a church. But all my friends here seem to give me up for the chapels in Wales: whilst at the same time they are much satisfied with my conduct in waiting so long." The difficulty of obtaining a curacy was increased by Charles' desire to remain at Bala and serve the cure from there. The assertion some times made that he failed to obtain a curacy in the Church is unfounded. It may have been that he failed to obtain one sufficiently near Bala to suit his purpose. Ultimately, he accepted the loan of a chapel from the Methodists at Bala, in which he officiated. Although these chapels were never licensed by the Bishops, the Methodists themselves regarded them as chapels of ease to the Church. This is sufficiently clear from the fact that they refused to register these buildings as dissenting places of worship under the Toleration Act. Charles, in his "Vindication of Welsh Methodism," p. 5, says: "Our steady attachment to the Established Church cost us in fines in one year nearly £100; for we scrupled to have our places of worship recorded and our preachers licensed as dissenters."<sup>1</sup>

---

1. Writing as late as 1853, the Rev. Owen Jones, Llandudno, in his *History of Wales*, p. 293, says: "My firm opinion is—from the feeling I myself saw among the Methodists of the last generation—that if the

bishops and patrons of the Church in Wales 50 years ago, had endeavoured conscientiously to fill all the Church livings with men likely to prove proper ministers of the New Testament, that all the places of worship belonging to the Methodists would have been converted into day-schools, or chapels of ease to the Established Church."

The Rules and Objects of the Methodists first published in 1801, already referred to, has the following declaration: " We do not designedly dissent, nor do we consider ourselves dissenters from the Established Church. So far as our doctrinal views are concerned, we agree entirely with the Articles of the Church of England. Being, as a body, entirely of the same opinions as those expressed in the doctrinal Articles of the Established Church, we do not know of more appropriate and scriptural words to declare and set forth our opinions, we see no necessity for any special declaration of our tenets and doctrines."

The revivals in Wales created a thirst for Biblical knowledge, and which was largely satisfied by the Sunday School system, founded in 1780—and which became so powerful a factor in the religious history of the principality, as the instrument by means of which such a large number of its inhabitants were taught to read their Welsh Bibles. And this created a want of Welsh Bibles, which was met by the formation of the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804, chiefly through the efforts of Mr. Charles of Bala. The story of Mary Jones, walking bare-footed from the foot of Cader Idris to Bala to buy a Welsh Bible from Mr. Charles, is sufficiently familiar as one of the links in the chain of events which led up to the foundation of the Bible Society. She obtained from him a Welsh Bible, and for which she paid out of the savings from her bee hive. The very copy which Charles handed to Mary Jones is now in the Bible Society's House in London—a thick octavo volume, published in 1799—the last edition published by the S. P. C. K.

before the foundation of the Bible Society, with Canne's marginal references. It contains also the Apocrypha, the Book of Common Prayer, and the Metrical Version of the Psalms by Archdeacon Prys, and various Church tables. The volume is in fact the one familiarly known as "Beibl Eglwys," or the "Church Bible." It was the touching



Mary Jones' Bible.

(By permission of the British and Foreign Bible Society.)

incident of Mary Jones seeking a Welsh Bible under difficulties that was the immediate cause of the formation of the Bible Society.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Charles' original idea was to establish a Society to provide Welsh Bibles only for the then existing needs of Wales. The idea of expansion, which was acted upon, was an after-thought, and embodied in the Welsh motto of the Society, "Beibl i bawb o bobl y byd" (a Bible for all the people of the world.) No less than twenty two

1. "You will wish to know how the British and Foreign Bible Society arose. It has been said, very truly, that it grew out of a want—the want of the Bible in Wales." *The Book and its Story*.

editions of the Welsh Bible—each edition embracing many thousand copies—were published between 1588 and 1800, all more or less under the auspices of the Church: and many thousand copies were distributed gratis to the poor. So that the Welsh Church could not be said to be unmindful of her duty in the circulation of the Scriptures, before the foundation of the Bible Society in 1804. In the formation of that Society, Mr. Charles was well supported by Bishops Warren<sup>1</sup> of Bangor, and Burgess of S. David's. From the date of its foundation to the present time, by far the greater portion of the income of the Society is subscribed by Churchmen. It was in the year 1806 that the Bible Society first published 20,000 copies of the Welsh Bible. Some delay had resulted owing to a dispute respecting the correct orthography to be adopted. The matter in dispute having been referred to the arbitration of Walter Davies (Gwallter Mechain,) Vicar of Meifod, he decided in favour of the adoption of the orthography of the S. P. C. K. Welsh Bibles. Bishop Cleaver of S. Asaph, gave Mr. Davies the living of Manavon in 1807, which was understood to be a recognition of his services in correcting the orthography of the Welsh Bible, published by the S. P. C. K. about the same time.<sup>2</sup>

---

1. He died in 1800, and was buried at Westminster Abbey. A monument over his grave bears the following inscription: "Near this place are interred the remains of the Right Rev. John Warren, D.D., Bishop of S. David's in 1779: and translated to the see of Bangor in 1783. These episcopal stations he filled for more than 20 years with great ability and virtue. His charity, liberality, candour and benevolence will long be remembered. His eminent learning and unwearied application rendered him highly serviceable to the laws, as well as the religion of this country, towards which he was most sincerely attached."

2. "Mr. Davies' strength of mind and body were so different from the generality of mankind, that, although borne down with the weight of eighty years, and his departure so near, yet old age had not exhausted his powers, which he still retained in vigour and activity. He expired at the Vicarage House, Llanrhaiadr, Dec. 5, 1849, in his 89th year."  
*Eminent Welshmen.*

The National Society for the Education of the Poor in the principles of the Church of England was established in the year 1811,—a society which was the means of helping in so many ways to form a net work of National Schools throughout the kingdom. A Society whose history is not only a history of the more mechanical parts of education—the building and improving of schools, and the establishing and managing of colleges, but it is a society which also embraces the history of principles. The fundamental principle of the society has ever been, that all education deserving the name must be based on religion; and that education in its full and proper sense, cannot be said to be rightly carried on, where definite religious belief and religious principle do not pervade the whole teaching of a school. This society has helped largely to educate a great number of the poor free, at a time when popular education was an unpopular question. It was the Church then that came to the rescue, and filled the gap through the efforts of the clergy and the faithful laity, aided by this society. In truth, the National Society gave permanence in Wales to the Circulating Schools of Griffith Jones, Llanddawror, the benefits of which are sufficiently attested by the words of Williams, Pantycelyn, “If I had only a shilling to give towards a religious cause,” he says, “I would prefer giving eleven pence to the support of Mrs. Bevan’s Schools, than giving a penny towards erecting a chapel.”<sup>1</sup>

The declaration put forward by the Welsh Methodists in 1801 was practically laid aside by their action ten years later, by the ordination of lay preachers in 1811. In that year there were twelve clergy at the head of the movement, six of whom, in consequence of the ordination of lay preach-

---

1. “Tystiolaethau,” &c., p. 75.

ers, quitted the Methodist body, and six remained, Mr. Charles among them. "When the innovation commenced among the Methodists, about three years before Mr. Charles' death, for the appointing of lay preachers to administer the Sacraments, it was a source of great grief and sorrow to him, and he told the writer that it caused him many a sleepless night. His health was certainly affected by it. Perceiving, however, that the great bulk of the connection was bent upon the innovation and to carry their point, he, in order to prevent unhappy divisions amongst them, at length, yielded."<sup>1</sup>

"It is well known," says Johnes,<sup>2</sup> "that Charles and his clerical brethren were urged into this indefensible measure by the continued importunity of some of the lay preachers, who were ambitious to participate in the privileges of that profession, of which they had already shared the popularity and the toil. There is reason to believe that he afterwards felt cause to regret the step he had thus taken, and that this feeling, operating on a mind naturally sensitive, combined with his incessant labours and reckless exposure to the inclement skies of the bleak hills of Gwynedd, contributed to hasten his decease, while he was yet in the prime of life."

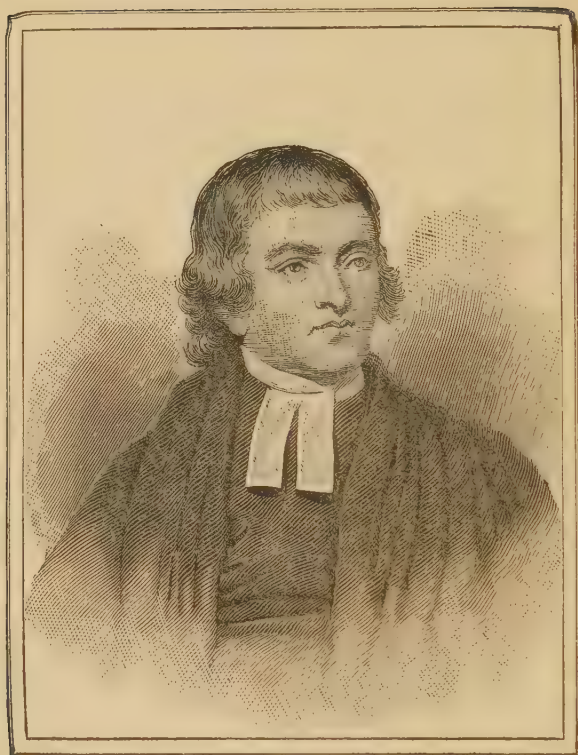
Mr. Charles died Oct. 15, 1814, aged 58 years, and was buried in Llanycil Church-yard, on the banks of Bala Lake.

Welsh Methodism, having broken off from the old moorings in the Church, gradually shifted into Dissent. "And although the Methodists at last erected many places of worship over the face of the principality, they were so far

---

1. Extract from a Short History of Charles written by his friend Robert Saunderson, and connected with him by marriage. Written for and at the request of Bp. Short of S. Asaph.

2. "On the Causes of Dissent in Wales," p. 48.



Thomas Charles—1755—1814.

(By permission of the British and Foreign Bible Society.)

from intending to separate from the Established Church, that they continued to cling to her for more than 70 or 75 years, by taking their children to be baptized by her clergy, rather than by the ministers of dissenting denominations.”<sup>1</sup>

Though Methodism and Dissent are now practically syn-

---

1. “Hanes Cymry,” by Rev. O. Jones, p. 293.

onymous terms, they are etymologically and historically widely different. Williams Pantycelyn, is careful to draw the distinction in the following extract: "After we have succeeded, by the blessing of the Lord, to take the Gospel to the dark regions of the principality, before we are hardly in our graves, your chapels will have been turned into nests of Dissenters, or what will be worse, Dissenters under the name of Methodists."<sup>1</sup>

All who are acquainted with the history of religion know that the term "Methodists" was originally given to a society of students at Oxford, about the year 1730, who were distinguished for their earnestness and *methodical* attention to devotional exercises. Early Methodism, both Calvinistic and Arminian, or Wesleyan, had no aim other than what Missions in our time have, i.e., the deepening of the spiritual life of the Church. This point is put quite clearly by Williams in the above extract. Wesleyan Methodism, like Calvinistic Methodism, was part of the Church of England. So John Wesley wrote to Miss Bisshop, Oct. 10, 1778, "All the early Methodists belonged to the Church.....We inserted in the first Rules of our Society, 'those who leave the Church, leave us.'" In the "Arminian Magazine" for April, 1790, John Wesley,—about a year before his death, which happened March 2, 1791—wrote thus: "I declare once more that I live and die a member of the Church of England, and no one who regards my opinion will ever separate from it." Wesley's biographer, in referring to his last manifesto, adds that "Wesley lived and died a hearty, but inconsistent Churchman."<sup>2</sup>

---

1. "Tystiolaethau, &c.;" p. 74.

2. Tyerman's "Life of Wesley," iii. 634.



John Wesley.

about 120 or 150 years; but there are a great many who are in the habit of saying that before that time the Welsh were a very godless people. This is a place, I hope, of freedom of opinion; and allow me to say, I do not believe a word of it."

The testimony of John Elias (1774—1841,) the most eminent and eloquent of Welsh preachers—confirms Mr. Gladstone's view. "As soon as I was able to walk with my grandfather to the parish church," says John Elias, "I was obliged to go with him there every Sunday. He was a true Churchman. There were then no Methodists, to the best of my knowledge in that neighbourhood.....My father used to have family worship morning and evening. He would read a chapter of the Bible with Mr. Peter Williams' Exposition, then he would pray in one of those excellent forms of Mr. Griffith Jones, Llanddwror, in a very devout and serious manner. My grandfather endeavoured to teach me to read the Welsh language when I was about four or five years old. I soon took great pleasure in the work, and I was able to read the Holy Scriptures when I was six years old. I had

---

1. Speech at Wrexham, Sept. 5, 1888.

even read from the beginning of Genesis to the middle of Jeremiah when I was at the age of seven."<sup>1</sup>

John Elias never lost affection for the Church of his birth, nor his respect for her bishops and clergy.<sup>2</sup> No Churchman could have spoken in higher terms of appreciation of her liturgy than John Elias did in his Letter to the *Record* newspaper, Feb. 25, 1833, from which the following is an extract; "It cannot be expected that any establishment can be entirely perfect while its duties are performed by frail man; yet it is not too much to ask now, is there any other denomination likely to answer the purpose which every religious party ought to have in view, that is to say, to prepare the soul, under the blessing of the spirit of God, for eternity better than the Church of England? Consider the holy care with which, as a tender mother, she follows us at every step of our earthly pilgrimage, how she watches over our needs and dangers. As soon as a child is born to a world of sin and suffering, the Church takes it from the hands of its parents, and in effectual and touching words dedicates him to the protection of the Great Shepherd. After a little while, when he reaches the years of discretion and understanding, the Church comes to him again a second time, and calls upon him to go to the house of the Lord, and there to consecrate himself to God as a servant and soldier. Next she invites him when heavy laden under the burden of corruption, to the Table where the Mediator has

1. Memoir by Morgan, p. 4.

2. "I remember on one occasion, when walking arm in arm with John Elias, meeting Bishop Bethell on the road between Bangor and Menai Bridge. After the Bishop had passed us, John Elias asked me, "Who was that dignified looking clergyman?" "The Bishop of Bangor," I said. On hearing this, John Elias snatched his arm from mine, ran after the Bishop, and made a most respectful bow to his lordship."—*The late Rev. Owen Thomas, D.D., Liverpool.*

promised to impart, with his own hands, grace and forgiveness. Nor does the Church leave the true believer there,—she follows him into all the circumstances of his home, and she ties the knot which brings family happiness. She continues by him at the bed of sickness, to minister to him in his hours of affliction and darkness, the sweetest consolations. She descends with him into the valley of the shadow of death, cheers him with very great and precious promises, and unveils before his eyes the glory of the unseen world. And when his remains are laid to rest in the grave, the Church stands as the chief mourner over his grave; and sings over him an elegy of grief, affection and thankfulness. She performs in his stead what he cannot do for himself. She leads other sons to glory by placing before them a vivid description of the joy of him who sleeps in Jesus. ‘I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Write, from henceforth, blessed are the dead which die in the Lord.’

Such is the eloquent testimony of John Elias to the beauties of our liturgy. His early training as a Churchman never lost its influence on him in after life, during his eventful career. His wonderful eloquence marks him out as one of the most powerful preachers which Wales ever produced. But he was separated from the Church of his Baptism by the force of circumstances more than by anything else. Lacking the training necessary for the ministry of the Church he loved so well, he was constrained to cast his lot among the Methodists, for “the word of the Lord was in his heart as a burning fire, shut up in his bones, and he was weary of forbearing and could not stay.”

The case of John Elias is by no means a solitary one. James Hughes (1779—1846,) commonly known as Iago Trichrug, the Welsh Biblical commentator, is another

instance of one lost to the service of the Church in Wales from want of means to qualify for her ministry, means which are now, however, largely supplied by exhibitions, and scholarships, provided by clerical educational societies and other organizations, formed for the training and education of candidates for Holy Orders. Hughes, in the following lines, refers to his desire and failure to take Holy Orders, but that his inclinations towards the Church still continued.

“Chwenychais yn ieuangwr  
Gael urddau fel Eglwyswr,  
Ond pan heb ddysg ni chefais hyr,  
Mi aethum yn Drefnyddiwr.

Ond eto'r wyf ychydig,  
A'm tuedd yn Eglwysig;  
Bod liwydd a nefol ddwyfol dân  
Pr Eglwys Lân Gatholig”

IAGO TRICHRUG.

It is the same story in the history of Eben Fardd—the bard of many Eisteddfodic chairs. In a letter to him dated from Chriselton, Dec. 23, 1840, Ieuan Glan Geirionydd says, “I am exceedingly glad to find that you have the prospect of being educated for the ministry of the Church of England.” Writing to Mr. Williams, Rector of Llanddwrog, about the same time, the same writer says, “I rejoice beyond measure to find that our poetical friend Eben has the prospect held out to him of being brought up to ‘t’ould Mother Church,’ and most sincerely do I wish him every possible success.”<sup>1</sup>

The foundation of S. David's College, Lampeter, in 1822, largely supplied a felt want in the training and education of Welsh clergy. The founder, Bishop Burgess of S. David's, one of the greatest benefactors of the Church in Wales, set apart for eighteen years, a tenth part of his episcopal income towards the founding of this College. This was

---

1. Letters, &c., p. 222.



Bishop Burgess.

subsidised by subscriptions from England and Wales, including a donation of £1,000 from George IV., and a Parliamentary Grant of £6,000. The College was opened in 1827; and in 1852, a Royal Charter was granted empowering the College to confer the degree of B.D., and in 1865, another Charter was added with power to confer a B.A. degree, which declared that "the course of Education

at S. David's College, Lampeter, ought to be extended, so as to be equivalent to the ordinary course for a Bachelor's degree in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge." In 1880, the College was affiliated to the University of Oxford, and in 1883, to the University of Cambridge.

Before the founding of S. David's College, a number of Welsh clergy were ordained from Ystrad Meurig School, founded in 1736, by Edward Richards (1714—77.)—poet, critic and historian, who endowed the school with lands of his own. This school may be said to have been the pioneer of S. David's College, and it continued to flourish greatly, till it was superseded by S. David's College, which has played so prominent a part in the history of the Welsh Church during the last seventy years. The College cannot indeed boast of the grand memories of our time honoured

---

1. Our illustration is from the painting in the Hall of S. David's College. Bishop Burgess was among the last generation of Bishops who wore wigs.

Universities ; it has no storied ivy entwined around its walls recalling the memories of ancient days, and the great and mighty dead who once prayed and studied within the walls of our ancient Universities, and who afterwards exercised such a mighty influence over Church and State. Still, S. David's College has, during the seventy years of its existence, has furnished men for the ministry of whom any University might be justly proud, embracing a long and honourable list of powerful preachers in both languages, many of them being preachers of that typical character which forms so remarkable a feature in the history of Welsh preaching. In the delivery of a typical Welsh sermon, the preacher modulates his voice almost as much as in singing a piece of music when he reaches the closing part, commonly known as the *hwyl*<sub>1</sub> (full sail), and which comes at the close of the sermon, as a kind of peroration. In Brittany, the intonation of the priest and the responses of the congregation in the services of the Church of Rome bear a striking resemblance to the *hwyl*. The religious feeling and sensitive character of the Welsh people, and the capacity of their language for pathetic and impassioned oratory, explain the remarkable impressions produced by the *hwyl*, moving, as it did, large audiences to tears, loud responses and ejaculations—associations which form around both preacher and pulpit a kind of halo in the minds of many, recalling experiences of varied devotional feelings, sometimes of delight, sometimes of awe at the preaching of the Word, like the prophet of old at the sound of the earthquake, the wind, the fire and the still small voice ; or the woman in the Gospel when she, in gratitude, bathed the feet of the Saviour with her tears and wiped them with the hairs of her head.

“ Welsh preaching, in style and manner, has much in

---

1, See p. 214.

common with French, and still more with Italian, than with English preaching. It deals rather with the emotional, and the higher spiritual elements in human nature, than with the purely ethical and intellectual. It is, therefore, no wonder that it sometimes produces strong outward manifestations of feeling. I have myself repeatedly seen many thousands at a great open-air gathering swayed like the waving of a ripe corn-field under the commanding power of a great Welsh preacher. I have known a sudden change in the cadence of a preacher's voice produce an awful stillness among a huge mass of men and women; and another change produce an equally sudden outburst of spiritual rapture, as if the great multitude had been moved by one electric impulse. Among the leading characteristics of Welsh preaching are its vividness, discriptiveness, intense earnestness, strong grasp of first principles, and its direct dealing with the human conscience."<sup>2</sup>

---

2. Dean Howell, Paper read at the Manchester Church Congress, 1888.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

### VICTORIA 1837. WHOM GOD PRESERVE!

#### ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.

|                        |           |                          |          |
|------------------------|-----------|--------------------------|----------|
| William Howley,        | 1828—48.  | Archibald Campbell Tait, | 1868—83. |
| John Bird Sumner,      | 1848—62.  | Edward White Benson,     | 1883—96. |
| Charles Thomas Longley | 1862--68. | Frederic Temple,         | 1896—    |

#### BISHOPS OF S. ASAPH.

|                        |          |                           |          |
|------------------------|----------|---------------------------|----------|
| William Carey,         | 1830-46. | Christopher Bethell,      | 1830-59. |
| Thomas Vowler Short,   | 1846-70. | James Colquhoun Campbell, | 1859-90. |
| Joshua Hughes,         | 1870-89. | Daniel Lewis Lloyd,       | 1890-99. |
| Alfred George Edwards, | 1889-    | Watkin Herbert Williams,  | 1899-    |

#### BISHOPS OF BANGOR.

#### BISHOPS OF S. DAVID'S.

|                      |          |                   |          |
|----------------------|----------|-------------------|----------|
| John B. Jenkinson,   | 1825-40. | Edward Copleston, | 1828-49. |
| Connop Thirlwall,    | 1840-74. | Alfred Ollivant,  | 1849-83. |
| William Basil Jones, | 1874-97. | Richard Lewis,    | 1883-    |
| John Owen,           | 1897-    |                   |          |

#### BISHOPS OF LLANDAFF.

ONE of the first acts of the long and prosperous reign of good Queen Victoria had reference to Church patronage in Wales; the unsatisfactory administration of which in the matter of purely Welsh benefices had become notorious, and a fruitful source of public scandal and discontent. Writing in 1832, Mr. Johnes<sup>1</sup> says: "I am myself acquainted with the case of a divine, who at the mature age of 50, was advanced to a Welsh living, without knowing a syllable of the language; he accomplished the duty by receiving a Saturday night's lesson from his clerk, on the Sunday service"! The passing of the Act 1 and 2 Vic. c. 106, was an acknowledgement of the existence of the evil which it sought to remedy. By this statute the Bishops of Wales may, subject to an appeal to the Archbishop, refuse institution to clergymen who cannot perform Divine Service and

---

1. Essay "On the Causes of Dissent in Wales," p. 68.

preach in the Welsh language: and the parishioners have power to enter a caveat against the appointment of any clergyman so disqualified.

"During the present reign almost all the churches of Wales have been restored at great cost, and a large number of new churches built, new parishes formed and new endowments provided. Large sums of money have also been spent on new parsonage houses and school buildings, through the energy of the clergy and the munificence of the laity. "Undoubtedly the Established Church in Wales is an advancing Church, an active Church, a living Church, and I hope very distinctly a rising Church, from elevation to elevation."<sup>1</sup>

The squalidness which marked the condition of most of our churches at the beginning of the present reign has entirely vanished; and if "cleanliness be next to godliness," evidence is not lacking in this respect of spiritual advancement. The old three decker with its dusty, faded crimson velvet cushion, has disappeared, as have also the old high pews, some of which were canopied and fitted up in the most approved style of upholstery and wood carving—the privileged enclosures of the rich, in which they claimed a freehold right, while the poor were banished to some dusty corner in the back ground. This invidious distinction, between rich and poor, has been largely abolished by free and open churches, establishing the principle,

"For all are equal within the Church's gate."<sup>2</sup>—*George Herbert*.

It is the boast of the Church of England that she is the Church of the poor: and the common people hear her

---

1. Speech by Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons, Feb. 20, 1891.

2. *George Herbert*.

gladly. Among others of his class in Wales, the "Village Blacksmith" still

"Goes on Sunday to the Church,  
And sits among his boys;  
He hears the parson pray and preach,  
He hears his daughter's voice  
Singing in the village choir  
And makes his heart rejoice.

It sounds to him like her mother's voice  
Singing in Paradise!  
He needs must think of her once more,  
How in the grave she lies;  
And with his hard, rough hand he wipes  
A tear out of his eye."

The miserable duet between parson and clerk<sup>1</sup> has given way to congregational responses between "priest and people," as directed in the Prayer Book. In the Welsh Prayer Book, "Clerks" is translated "Scholars."<sup>2</sup> In the Welsh Marriage Service, "Clerk" is translated "Clochydd"—bellringer—the common designation in Welsh for a parish clerk. This is the only instance of its occurrence in the Welsh Prayer Book. The rubric directing "Y ddyled ddefodol i'r offeiriad a'r clochydd," or "the accustomed duty to the priest and clerk," would appear, from the term clochydd, or bellringer, being

1. The parish clerk is the representative man of the lay clerks or choir-men of the parish. It is not improbable that when parish chdirs were universal, or nearly so, throughout the Church of England, there was one of the lay clerks whose duty it was to be constantly present, even when the other lay clerks were absent, at every service which was celebrated by the parish minister, to say or sing the responses as the leader, or the representative, of the laity, and that the parish clerk of modern days is thus a very ancient officer of the Church. This is confirmed by the rubrics of the Prayer Book, which several times mention the 'minister and clerks,' or 'the priest and clerks;' and which once, in the Marriage Service, besides speaking of them in the plural, as engaged in the saying or singing of the psalm, also directs that the bridegroom shall lay on the book 'the accustomed duty to the priest and clerk,' using the word in the singular number." *Book of Church Law* (Phillimore,) p. 285.

2. Vide rubric in Burial Service, "Yr offeiriad a'r Ysgolheigion,"—priest and scholars.

used, to have reference to a fee to be paid for ringing the church bell on the occasion—a function usually discharged



Pulpit and Pew, Parish Clerk, Singing Gallery, and Surpliced Choir.

by the parish clerk on other occasions, as well as the duties of sexton, or sacristan—the person in charge of the sacred vessels. The choir at one time perched up in a gallery in the west end of the church, far and away from the officiating minister and congregation, now commonly takes its place in the chancel, not infrequently in surplices, and the singing gallery has almost disappeared from our churches.

The Oxford, or Tractarian Movement had attracted considerable attention at the accession of Queen Victoria. The deep and far reaching influences of the movement was felt no less in Wales than other parts of the kingdom, as a channel through which was effected a wider diffusion of an enlightened taste with regard to objects closely connected with the public exercise of devotion, and led many to desire and promote a more ornate and symbolical ceremonial in public worship, as perfectly consistent with the purest simplicity of our reformed religion. It was an uprising of some of the noblest, most learned and most devout spirits of the time, against religious sloth, carelessness and indifference, and for the restoration of the power of the Church. The Oxford Movement was very different in kind from that begun at Oxford by Wesley in the preceding century, but not less earnest in its aim, nor less powerful in its effects. Among the leaders of the Oxford Movement was an eminent Welshman—Isaac Williams—a native of Cardiganshire, Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford. He had served under Newman as curate of S. Mary the Virgin, Oxford, from 1832 to 1842. Numbers 80, 86 and 87 of the *Tracts for the Times*, which appeared between 1833 and 1841, were written by Williams, and he was associated with Keble, Pusey, Froude and Newman. Although the name of Isaac Williams was at one time connected with a fierce theological controversy which convulsed the whole country, he himself lived in an atmosphere of the deep peace of God. His numerous and

learned writings, chiefly of a devotional kind, are marked by a spirit of deep piety and humility, and are valuable additions to the theological literature of the Church of England—especially his work on the “Harmony of the Gospels.” And the same remark is applicable to his poetical works. The solemn penitential hymn, “Lord, in this thy mercy’s day,” is by him.



Isaac Williams, 1802–65.

The musical side of the Tractarian Movement was not without attraction to Welshmen—so passionately fond of music—in the encouragement it gave to choral services. But in the history of Welsh religious music, hymnology holds a unique position. To hear ten or twelve thousand people, when the whole mass stands up to sing some favourite

Welsh hymn—the women taking the air, and the men putting in their parts with precision, has a thrilling and elevating effect. What is best of all in the history of hymnology, English and Welsh, is that there has arisen a spirit of Christian fellowship in hymn singing which is an enormous help towards attaining Christian unity. Among Churchmen and Nonconformists,—hymns from all sources—ancient and modern, Anglican, Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Dissenting, stand side by side in our hymnals, and are sung with delight and heartiness, and kindle fresh hopes of a future, if distant unity.

In the history of Welsh hymnology of this period, the

name of the Rev. Evan Evans, better known as Ieuan Glan Geirionydd, stands in the front rank as a hymn writer. His hymns have become part of the thought of the Welsh peasantry ; and his famous hymn "Ar lan Iorddonen ddofn," (On Jordan's deep bank I tread,) has been faltered by thousands of dying lips, and sung at as many Welsh funerals. To Welshmen, the hymn is connected with some dear memory, and they love to think of the writer as English people do of Toplady, with reference to his hymn "Rock of Ages." To a most lovable character, Evans added a brilliancy of talents, which he employed, with the utmost diligence and the most unselfish of motives, in the interests of the Church and nation which he loved and served with all his heart. He was the pioneer of the modern Welsh Church press. The "Gwladgarwr" (Patriot,) the most popular and interesting of the earlier Welsh magazines, was started by Evans himself and supported at his own charges, while he also acted as sole editor. High in tone, and broad in sympathies, no Welsh magazine ever attained to the same popularity nor secured such a wide circulation, and which helped so largely to create and satisfy a thirst for knowledge among the peasantry of Wales. Rarely has it fallen to the lot of any Welshman to exercise such wide, varied and lasting influence for good over his countrymen of Wales, as a commentator, hymnologist, poet and journalist. In view of this, a feeling existed, which found expression soon after his death in the Welsh press in the form of a censure of the Welsh Bishops, that Evans did not receive that recognition to which his labours for the Church had justly entitled him. But the Welsh Bishops were blameless in the matter. Evans had spent the greater part of his ministerial life in the diocese of Chester—and Bishop Blomfield, who ordained him, had a high opinion of his abilities—and he had only been a few weeks perpetual curate of Rhyl, then only a village in the

parish of Rhuddlan, when he died in 1855, at the age of 58 years. He was buried at Trefriw, his native place. A mural marble monument was placed in the parish Church of Rhyl to his memory by public subscription.



Another pioneer of the Welsh Church press was John Blackwell (Alun,) an Oxford graduate. He edited "*Y Gwyllydydd*" (The Watchman,) one of the earliest Welsh magazines. Though conducted with marked ability, it never attained to the popularity of the "*Gwladgarwr*." Blackwell's ode on

**Ieuan Glan Geirionydd, 1799—1855.** "*Maesgarmon*," for which he obtained the Chair Prize at the Caerwys Eisteddfod of 1823, gave early promise of a bright future. In 1832, he delivered a powerful English oration on Eisteddfodau at the Beaumaris Royal Eisteddfod in the presence of Queen, then Princess, Victoria, and her mother, the Duchess of Kent. His Welsh preaching is thus described by one who frequently heard him: "His sermons were always carefully composed, his diction elegant, matter substantial, style uniform, his appeals pressing and fervent, and always delivered with the *ore rotundo* of an Italian."<sup>1</sup> Blackwell died in 1840, rector of Manordeifi, to which benefice he was preferred by Lord Chancellor Brougham, to whom he was personally known for his abilities, and literary services to Wales. Blackwell is best known to posterity as the author of a pathetic elegy to Bishop Heber, for which he obtained the Prize at the Denbigh Royal Eisteddfod of 1829. The elegy, which is in blank verse, is one of the finest productions of its kind in the

---

1. Memoir, p. 55.



Rev. John Blackwell (Alun.)  
1797—1840.

Welsh language. To the author, as to the Welsh people, Heber was a hero of the first order, around whose memory their warmest affections were closely entwined. Born at Malpas, on the borders of Wales, Heber is claimed as one of the Welsh worthies of the Church of England. His famous Missionary hymn, which has been translated into Welsh,

"From Greenland's icy mountains,"

was first sung in Wrexham parish church in 1819, at a service at which Heber's father in law—Dean Shipley of S. Asaph, was to preach in aid of the funds of the S. P. G. and the hymn was composed on the way from Hodnet, of which parish Heber was rector, to Wrexham to attend the service.



Bishop Heber—1783—1826.

The appointment of Connop Thirlwall, who was of Welsh extraction,<sup>1</sup> to the see of S. David's, in 1840, marks a new epoch in the history of the Church in Wales. A man of powerful intellect, lofty ideas, and broad sympathies, he rose above the prejudices of his times, and had a clear conception of the principles upon which a Bishop should govern a Welsh diocese, and had the

1. "On the female side I have reason to believe that I share whatever Welsh blood flows in Radnorshire." "Letters of Bishop Thirlwall," edited by Dean Stanley, p. 26.

full courage of his convictions when he applied his great mind to learn the language of the people committed to his charge. "That was no mean sense of duty which constrained him, when in middle life he entered on the episcopate, to throw his vast linguistic power into the difficult, though to him grateful task of learning, as no English bishop since the Conquest had ever learnt, the language of his Cambrian diocese."<sup>2</sup> Speaking of the bilingual difficulty, Bishop Thirlwall says in his Visitation Charge of 1842: "An opinion seems to have prevailed, that it is useless, or even inexpedient, where English is not the mother tongue of the people, to teach them to read their own language. I am convinced that this maxim is quite erroneous, and attended with many practical consequences, injurious both to the people and to the Church. I believe the ordinary effect to be, that they acquire but a very imperfect command over either language; that which they habitually speak gives them no access to books, and the books which they are able to read are seldom intelligible to them without more application than they have often time to bestow on any intellectual labour. They consequently remain destitute of that information which they might have derived with ease and pleasure from works written in their own language; they can join but imperfectly in the public service of the Church, and are therefore the more easily persuaded to forsake it, while the Church has no means of reaching them through the press, and is compelled to abandon them, without a struggle, to all the errors and prejudices they may imbibe, when they are withdrawn from the real instruction of her ministers. It seems therefore highly desirable, that in all cases both languages should be taught together, and there can be little

---

2. Funeral Sermon preached in Westminster Abbey by Dean Stanley.

doubt that this practice would be attended with a more rapid progress in each.”<sup>1</sup>

Writing in 1854, Dr. Rowland Williams<sup>2</sup> says: “Bishop Thirlwall has been preaching two sermons one *Welsh*<sub>3</sub> and one *English*, almost consecutively, that is, interrupted only by the Prayer for the Church Militant, at the consecration of Llanrhystyd Church. He had an overflowing congregation, and I understand that a very large number communicated. They were in Church full four hours. It is a wonderful thing here, considering the antecedents of the Church in South Wales, to have one bishop preaching to overflowing congregations of the rustic mountaineers in their own tongue, and to have another criticising the periodicals which dissenters write in Welsh. These are a comparative triumph over the non-resident apathy of Watson, and the ostentatious contempt of Welsh of Copleston.”

Writing in 1865,<sup>4</sup> Bishop Thirlwall says: “The Queen sent for me after the service at which I preached, and honoured me with a private interview, which lasted I think about a quarter of an hour, leading me through a great variety of topics. One on which we dwelt longest was Wales, the people and the language. Though her sentiments on the subject may be known to you, it would have

<sup>1</sup> 1. Charges, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> 2. Life and Letters, vol. i., p. 228.

<sup>3</sup> 3. “The conversation at dinner was entirely sustained between the Queen and the guests. When the Queen rose she came directly to me, and we had a very long chat, beginning with my Charge, which she had been reading. . . . Then we interchanged information about Celtic dialects; she was not aware of the exact relation between them; but in return for the Welsh for Queen was able to tell me the Gaelic, *ban-ri*, which I did not know, and which she not only knew, but perfectly understood in its etymology. She had not been aware that I was able to preach, &c., in Welsh.” *Letters of Bp. Thirlwall*, p. 107.

<sup>4</sup> 4. Letters, edited by Dean Stanley, p. 23.

done you good to have heard the warmth with which she expressed her feeling of recoil from the idea of an old language becoming extinct, and you would have been less able than I to abstain from expressing your sympathy with it, though, perhaps, hardly warranted by the laws of etiquette. Our talk was throughout easy and cheerful: she even told me about her Welsh nurses."

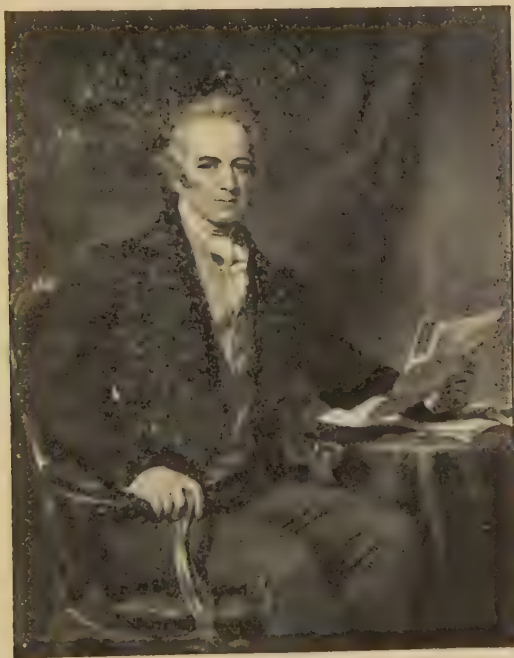
The example set by Bishop Thirlwall of learning the Welsh language was followed by Bishop Ollivant, appointed to Llandaff in 1849, and by Bishop Campbell appointed to Bangor in 1859. Writing about the time of his appointment to the Rev. Morris Williams (Nicander,) author of "*Y Flwyddyn Eglwysig*"—the Welsh "Christian Year"—Bishop Campbell said: "My sympathies are thoroughly warm with the Welsh people, among whom I have ministered for so many years."<sup>1</sup> These were not empty words. Notwithstanding that he was a Scotchman, Bishop Campbell<sup>2</sup> was an efficient overseer of his diocese, and acceptable to those among whom his lot had been cast. His knowledge of Welsh could not indeed be pronounced to be of that masterly kind peculiar to natives of Wales. But the efforts he, with the other Bishops of Wales, made to learn the language were praiseworthy, and indicated their earnest desire to follow the Apostolic example of speaking to their people in the language wherein they were born, even though it were in faltering accents. Notwithstanding this, these Bishops were highly esteemed for their piety, charity, learning and dignity.

---

1. Letters in "*Adgof uwch Anghof*," p. 236.

2. It is interesting to note that the practice of consecrating in Westminster Abbey the Bishops of English sees was revived with the consecration of Bishop Campbell, which took place in the Abbey. *Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, p. 568.

The Welsh bishopric question was revived in 1843. The Commissioners made their report in 1835, and an Act giving it effect was passed in 1836, by which the sees of Bangor and S. Asaph were, on the next vacancy, to be united under one bishop, and a bishopric of Manchester to be founded and endowed with the revenues of one of the historic Welsh sees. Against this unjust law the Earl of Powis,<sup>1</sup> to whom



Edward, 2nd Earl of Powis, K.G., 1785—1848.

---

1. As an acknowledgment of these services the Earl of Powis was presented with a Testimonial raised by public subscription, the amount of which was, at his own request, devoted to the founding of an exhibition tenable at the University of Oxford or Cambridge, to be called the "Powis Exhibition." Its annual value is £60. Candidates must know Welsh, be natives of Wales, and intending to take Holy Orders.

the Church in North Wales owes so much,<sup>1</sup> headed a persistent and, ultimately, successful opposition. In 1843, he introduced a Bill into the House of Lords for continuing the Bishoprics of Bangor and S. Asaph, which was warmly supported by the persuasive eloquence of Bishop Wilberforce.

The Bill was read a second time in the Lords in 1846, and passed; but being withdrawn on the 3rd August in the Commons, its provisions did not become law until the following year. Early in September of 1846, Bishop Carey of S. Asaph died, and the opportunity occurred for the union of the two sees. Now, however, it was discovered, for the first time, that the Act contained no provision for compelling the survivor of the two occupants of the sees in question to accept the charge of the vacated see in addition to his own, and Bishop Bethell<sup>1</sup> of Bangor declined to accept the see of S. Asaph now vacant. This forced the Government either to nominate to the vacant see, on the understanding that the new Bishop should accept the see of Bangor also at its next vacancy, a course which would again indefinitely postpone the foundation of the proposed diocese of Manchester; or else must fill up the see, without any such stipulation—a course which, after its recognition of the pressing need of a bishopric for Manchester, would practically bind the Government to its immediate formation. Lord John Russell chose the latter alternative, and Dr.

---

1. He was Bishop of Bangor from 1830 to 1859, and before, successively Dean of Chichester, Bishop of Gloucester and Exeter. A learned divine—the author of a standard work on Baptismal Regeneration, and a man of unbounded charity. His benevolent countenance, fine and dignified presence, are among the earliest recollections of the writer's boyhood. Methinks I can recall his stately figure, habited in his episcopal robes, as he ascended, with faltering footsteps, weighted with the burden of 86 years, his throne in the Cathedral.

Vowler Short was translated from Sodor and Man to S. Asaph.

Among the Welsh clergy who took a prominent part in the agitation against the uniting of the two Welsh sees was Dr. Rowland Williams (1817—70,)—some time Vice Principal of S. David's College, Lampeter—known among his countrymen as “Dr. Williams of the Essays and Reviews”—the famous collection of articles published in 1860, which attracted such wide attention, and to which he was a contributor. Writing to Max Muller, Bunsen<sup>1</sup> says: “Rowland Williams' *Christianity and Hinduism* has been a real refreshment to me, in the investigation of the Indian consciousness of God in the world. The mastery of the Socratic-Platonic dialogue, the delicacy and freedom of the investigation, and the deep Christian and human spirit of this man, have attracted me more than all other English books, and even filled me with astonishment.....I have pressingly invited him for his holidays to our little philosopher's room.”

The claims of education have always received from the Church careful attention and liberal support. The old endowed Welsh Grammar Schools as well as her Elementary Schools are evidences of this. Most, however, of her Grammar Schools have, under the Welsh Intermediate Education Act of 1893, passed into the hands of secular bodies, often unfriendly to the Church, contrary to the wills and intentions of the founders. Brecon, Ruthin and Llandovery Schools are among the few which escaped the confiscation.

Founded in 1848, Llandovery College ranks among the foremost of the public schools of England, and its success is without precedent. It attained this distinguished posi-

---

1. “Chips from my German Workshop,” vol. i. p. 506. Quoted in Life and Letters of Dr. Rowland Williams, vol. i. p. 315.

tion under the wardenships of the present Bishops of S. Asaph and S. David's, and of its present Warden, the Rev. Owen Evans, Honorary Chaplain to the Queen. The first Warden was John Williams, Archdeacon of Brecon, whose success as a teacher drew from Sir Walter Scott the testimony that he was a "heaven born teacher," and "the greatest schoolmaster in Europe."<sup>1</sup> His successors were all distinguished Welshmen. Dr. James (Dewi o Ddyfed,) whose eloquence in both languages swayed and charmed such immense audiences from pulpit and platform. Then followed the scholarly Dean Phillips of S. David's, and William Watkins after him.

The Reports of the Commissioners, appointed in 1846 to enquire into the state of the Elementary Education of Wales, point out the neglected condition of large and populated areas, the inadequate supply of trained teachers, and the general absence of method or organization in the conduct of existing schools. Among the pioneers of Welsh Elementary Education, the names of Bishop Short (1790—1872) of S. Asaph, and Dean Cotton (1780—1862) of Bangor, stand in the front rank. Canon Thomas (1805—1877,) some time Vicar of Carnarvon, and founder of the North Wales Training College, in 1846, writes: "I had the privilege of the intimate friendship of the late good old Dean Cotton for a quarter of a century, and was closely connected with him in the cause of the education of the poorer classes in National Schools. He was the originator of these institutions in the Diocese of

---

1. "Lampeter, Dec. 11, 1858. The old Archdeacon Williams is dead; one of our most famous Welsh scholars. His best book was a 'Life of Alexander.' He was Vicar of this parish, and had Sir Walter Scott's second son as pupil here. He is mentioned in Lockhart's Life as having read the Burial Service over Sir Walter Scott himself; and, by a strange coincidence he did the same service for Fred. Robertson of Brighton, who had been his pupil." *Dr. Rowland Williams, Life and Letters*, vol. i., p. 409.



Llandovery College and its Wardens.

Bangor. At the time when he commenced his work in earnest, there existed in the minds of many of the higher classes in the diocese a strong prejudice against the education of the children of the poor. The Dean was the very man to combat and overcome this feeling. Highly connected and well-bred as he was, with most genial manners and a fund of wit and good humour, he seldom failed to convince his opponents, and very frequently won their countenance and support. He was possessed of unflagging zeal in the cause of religious education in Church schools, and took much pains and exertion in promoting them. Whenever a school was to be built, opened or examined, he neither regarded trouble, distance or expense. He proffered his willing aid and ready co-operation even in the most outlying parts of the diocese. It was a favourite saying of his, "that prayer, patience and perseverance did wonders," and verily he acted according to this maxim. His labours were incessant, his patience most exemplary, and his prayers constant and unceasing."<sup>1</sup>

A more popular clergyman than Dean Cotton there was not in Wales, where he had lived and laboured for 53 years. He acquired a knowledge of the Welsh language, in which as Vicar, and sometimes afterwards as Dean, of Bangor, he used to officiate. But he never mastered the Welsh language, and his faulty pronunciation was apparent even to an Englishman.<sup>2</sup> His efforts were however commendable.

---

1. Letter in Life of Dean Cotton, p. 157.

2. I remember hearing the late Bishop Jacobson of Chester say how, in his younger days when a tutor in an Irish family residing at Treborth, he had heard Dean Cotton preach in Welsh in Bangor Cathedral, adding that he could not help observing the difference between the Dean's Welsh, and what he used to hear Welsh people speak on the road. "I heard him afterwards," continued the Bishop, "read the Gospel for the day at the English Service, and never heard better reading. Some people think that it is easier to read well from the Prayer Book than from the Bible, because the Epistles and Gospels are not divided into verses as in the Bible."

The disestablishment of the Irish Church in 1869 gave a decided impetus to the question of the Disestablishment of the Welsh Church. Speaking in the House of Commons on the motion of Mr. Watkin Williams in favour of the Disestablishment of the Church in Wales, Mr. Gladstone said: "There is a complete ecclesiastical, constitutional, legal, and I may add—for every practical purpose—historical identity between the Church in Wales and the rest of the Church of England.....I do not envy the man who ventures to take in hand the business of disestablishing the Church of England. If it were as fit to be done as I think it unfit, there is a difficulty in the case before which the boldest man would recoil. It is all very well as long as we deal with abstract declarations put upon the Notice Paper of the House, of what might be done or ought to be done; but only to go up to the walls and gates and look at the way in which stone is built upon stone, on the way in which the foundations have been dug, and the way they go down into the earth, and consider by what tools, what artillery you can bring that fabric to the ground.....We cannot go in that direction; we do not intend to do so; we deprecate it, and we should regard it as a national mischief."<sup>1</sup> Speaking at Edinburgh in 1885, on the question of Scotch Disestablishment, Mr. Gladstone said, "I can tell you that the Disestablishment of the Irish Church was what I could call a big job, and as for the disestablishment of the English Church, I said I did not know then—and I can tell you I do not know now—whether the man breathes the air of Parliament who will carry into effect that measure. There is no use of concealing the truth of this. It is a breach of duty to conceal it."

During the agitation of 1870, in favour of the Disestablish-

---

1. Speech in the House of Commons, May 24, 1870.

ment of the Church in Wales, the see of S. Asaph fell vacant by the resignation of Bishop Short, a distinguished prelate, a good man, and most charitable. He did a great and enduring work in the matter of Elementary Education. But his undisguised antipathy to the Welsh language, however conscientious his motives may have been from his own standpoint, undeniably marred gravely his influence as the overseer of a diocese where the Welshman is the "predominant partner." Metaphorically speaking, the Welsh character is the worst possible subject for the application of antidotes, but lends itself naturally to homeopathic treatment. Treated kindly and considerately, the Welshman opens his heart cheerfully and spontaneously. Treated roughly and ignored, he shrinks into a sullen stubbornness. In a word, the history of Welsh Dissent may be summed up as the result of antidote treatment.

Mr. Gladstone nominated a typical Welshman to the see of S. Asaph in succession to Bishop Short,—Joshua Hughes, Vicar of Llandoverly,—a pious, good, kindhearted man—a veritable Father-in-God. As a Welsh preacher he stood in the foremost rank,<sup>1</sup> and was well known to fame long before his elevation to the episcopate. The tone and style of the Welsh preaching of his clergy greatly improved during his occupation of the see of S. Asaph. By this appointment, Mr. Gladstone was the first to break through the policy which had lasted 143 years of appointing Englishmen to Welsh

---

1. Bishop Hughes preached a powerful sermon at the re-opening of Bangor Cathedral, Aug. 3, 1873, after the restoration of the choir and transepts. The discourse, of which the writer has a vivid recollection, was delivered with all the unction and earnestness which distinguished all his pulpit utterances, and produced a visible effect upon the immense audience which surged every corner of the cathedral on that occasion.

sees<sub>1</sub>—a policy carried out with relentless obstinacy by Walpole,<sup>2</sup>—the worldly courtier.

The nomination of Bishop Hughes, sometime Vicar of Abergwili, to the see of S. Asaph, has been erroneously attributed to the influence of Bishop Thirlwall. It is not improbable that he, among others, was consulted; but it was Mr. Gladstone's own choice. On this subject, the Rev. Stephen E. Gladstone, in a letter to the writer, says: "Hawarden Rectory, May 30, 1900. I never heard my father name Bishop Thirlwall in connection with Bishop Hughes' appointment. I believe that it was entirely his own doing that he looked for a Welshman; the particular choice he always made after the *most* careful enquiry, involving a large correspondence and often for weeks, and also after consultation with leading churchmen in or near the sphere of duty. I am certain my father's own determination was to discontinue the English policy which he strongly believed wrong in itself, and as having been disastrous to the strong church character of the Welsh people last century and before."

The name of Archdeacon Basil Jones of York, was put forward in connection with the see of S. Asaph in 1870.<sup>3</sup>

---

1. The last Welsh Bishop of S. Asaph before 1870, was John Wynne, translated to Bath and Wells in 1727. John Thomas, a native of Dolgelley, was elected to the see in 1743, but was translated to Lincoln before consecration. All Welshmen occupying Welsh sees at that time were translated to English or Irish sees, as vacancies occurred, so as to remove them from Wales.

2. "We know well where the evil root was. We know all about George II., and Sir Robert Walpole. We know how your Welsh sees and your deaneries were used for political purposes. We know the bitter fruits of that day of formality and torpor, of nepotism and non-residence. But we know it best because we suffered along with you. Not one of your troubles and oppressions but weighed equally in England. When you lost, we lost. When we recover, you recover." *Speech by the Archbishop (Benson) of Canterbury*, at Rhyl Church Congress, 1891.

3. "Abergwili Palace, 25th Jan., 1870. I think there seems to be no doubt that Basil Jones is to have St. Asaph. I consider it an excellent appointment. It is stated as a *fait accompli* by the 'Spectator,' and as a most lucky hit of Gladstone's." *Letters of Bishop Thirlwall*, edited by Dean Stanley, p. 215.

But Mr. Gladstone, having spent so much of his life in Wales—the Bishop of S. Asaph being his own diocesan—and having a practical knowledge of its inner life, considered a colloquial knowledge of the Welsh language, and a practical insight into the actual condition of things in Wales essential qualifications in a Welsh Bishop, to make himself felt among all classes, as a leaven to leaven the whole lump. On the other hand, the Archdeacon of York had spent most of his life in England.

The agitation which the Elementary Education Act of 1870 brought with it, was keenly felt in Wales, owing to the opposition shown by Nonconformists to the adoption of religious teaching in day schools. Mr. Gladstone, during the passage of the Bill through the House of Commons, was compelled more than once to accept the help of the Conservative party, who favoured the principle which insisted on religious instruction in every system of national education. Welsh Churchmen stood firmly by the Bible, and definite religious teaching in National Schools. Dean Edwards (1837—1884.) of Bangor, and Canon Evans (1833—1888), Vicar of Carnarvon, led the campaign vigorously in the press and on the platform, and awoke in the public mind a deeper sense of obligation to the Church for her labours in behalf of the education of the poor, at a time when popular education was not a popular subject.

About this time, new life was infused into the Welsh Church press, chiefly through the energy of these two faithful sons of the Church. Never was work more necessary, to build up and establish her own members, as well as to counteract the mischievous effects of misrepresentations. The Welsh Church press had become remarkably weak, because it had been shamefully neglected. The Bishops

looked with disfavour on those clergy who supported the vernacular press, and those who did so as a labour of love had become very few, and it passed into the hands, for the most part of those hostile to the Church. Speaking on this subject at the Swansea Church Congress in 1879, Dean Edwards said: "When the Queen wishes to secure military services of brilliant valour in the field, she makes it known that he who renders those services will be honoured with a Victoria Cross, or some other mark of distinction. So must the rulers of the Church incite her soldiers to deeds of high service. If they desire to create among the clergy a spirit that will incite them to noble literary work for the good of the Welsh Church, they must remember that the rewards and honours which it is committed to them to dispense, are due to those who have done brave and good services. But in the past, the carpet-soldiers have too often been decorated in the Welsh Church, and some heroes have been neglected. Those who have tried to render literary service in the Welsh tongue have received crosses—crosses not of distinction, but of a very different kind."<sup>1</sup>

On the resignation of Bishop Thirlwall in 1874, Mr. Disraeli nominated Archdeacon Basil Jones of York to the see of S. David's. A scholarly Welshman, and the learned historian, jointly with Freeman, of the ancient and historic diocese over which he was called to preside. Bishop Thirlwall did not long survive his resignation, for he died in 1875; and was fittingly buried in Westminster Abbey, in the grave<sup>2</sup> of his illustrious friend Grote. A bust of the

---

1. Report of Church Congress, p. 580.

2. The following is the inscription:—

"Connop Thirlwall,

Scholar, Historian, Theologian.

For Thirty-four years Bishop of St. Davids'.

Born February 11, 1797. Died July 27, 1875.

Cor sapiens et intelligens ad discenendum judicium,

Gwyn ei fyd."

great Bishop stands on the west wall of the south transept on a line with his grave, executed by Edward Davis from the one he had taken from life.<sup>1</sup>

Though there are many eminent Welshmen buried in Westminster Abbey, the grave of Bishop Thirlwall is the only one which has a word of Welsh inscribed upon it. The words are—

GWYN EI FYD<sup>2</sup> (White his World,)

the Welsh expression for a state of blessedness, and the one most commonly used in the Welsh Bible,—far more frequently than “bendigedig,” derived from the Latin *benedictus*—where the parallel passages in the English Bible have “blessed,” as, for example, in the Beatitudes, and in the words “Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord”—Welsh, “White their world those that die in the Lord.” The words may have reference to this text, and to the great multitude which no man could number before the throne “clothed with white robes,” (Rev. vii. 9.) But though the inscription on Bishop Thirlwall’s tomb is the only Welsh one within Westminster Abbey, the Welsh character of that historic edifice is distinctly marked, as Dean Stanley, with the true instincts of a Welshman, points out with great clearness in his “*Memorials of Westminster Abbey*.” Speaking of Henry VII’s Chapel, on p. 167, he says: “It

---

1. “This reminds me to ask whether you know a Welsh artist whom I consider as one of the most ingenious and original sculptors of our day—Edward Davis. Many years ago I sat to him for a bust. He afterwards executed a little memorial which I erected in Abergwili Church in honour of Bishop Richard Davis, one of the Welsh translators of the Bible—which is also enriched with a charming englyn of Tegid’s. Meyer admired it, the monument, as a most beautiful composition.” *Letters of Bishop Thirlwall*, edited by Dean Stanley, p. 15.

2. “Tri colofn gwynfyd : goddef o foddlonrwydd, gobraith y daw, a chred y bydd,”—Barddas.—(Three pillars of the whiteworld, to suffer willingly, hope that it will come, and belief that it will come.)

is also the revival of the ancient, Celtic, British element in the English monarchy, after centuries of eclipse. It is a strange and striking thought, as we mount the steps of Henry VII's Chapel, that we enter there a mausoleum of princes, whose boast it was to be descended, not from the Confessor or the Conqueror, but from Arthur and Llewelyn;<sup>1</sup> and that round about the tomb, side by side with the emblems of the great English Houses, is to be seen the Red Dragon of the last British King, Cadwallader—"the dragon of the great Pendragonship" of Wales, thrust forward by the Tudor King in every direction to supplant the hated White Boar of his departed enemy—the fulfilment, in another sense than the old Welsh bards had dreamt, of their prediction that the progeny of Cadwallader should reign again:—

"Visions of glory, spare my aching sight—  
Ye unborn ages, crowd not on my soul—  
No more our long-lost Arthur we bewail;  
All hail, ye genuine kings, Britannia's issue hail!"

These noble lines well introduce us to the great Chapel which, as far as the Royal Tombs of the Abbey is concerned, contains within itself the whole future history of England. The Tudor<sup>2</sup> sovereigns, uniting the quick understanding and fiery temper of their ancient Celtic lineage with the iron will of the Plantagenets, were the fit inaugurators of the new birth of England at that critical season—for guiding and stimulating the Church and nation to the performance of new duties, the fulfilment of new hopes, the apprehension of new truths."

---

1. "Then," (i.e. the time of the Reformation) "doubtless, disappeared the coronet of Llewelyn, and the banners and statues around the Shrine of the Confessor." *Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, by Dean Stanley, p. 176.

2. "Owen Tudor, the brother of Edmund, who was a monk in the Abbey, was buried in the Chapel of St. Blaize, (Crull., p. 233)." *Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, p. 170.

A Burial Law, commonly known in Wales as Mr. Osborne Morgan's Act, was passed in 1880, authorizing burials in all churchyards, with, or without, religious service. This Act is, however, almost a dead letter. Welsh Nonconformists love the Burial Service of the Church, and fully appreciate its beauties, and it has been adopted, in not a few instances, in their own burial grounds in preference to any service of their own.

In 1884, Bishop Ollivant died, having presided over the see of Llandaff for 35 years. He was the last of the long succession of English bishops in Wales; but, like Bishop Thirlwall, he rose superior to the policy which dictated his appointment, for he strove to acquire a knowledge of the Welsh language, and though his efforts could not be pronounced successful, they were praiseworthy. His action was very different to a contemporary Bishop in Wales. "Only some twenty years ago, think of a Welsh Bishop, after administering the rite of Confirmation in English in an almost exclusive Welsh parish, publicly thanking God, at the luncheon which followed, that he did not understand the Welsh language. Is it to be wondered at that, the fathers having eaten sour grapes, the children's teeth are set on edge."<sup>1</sup>

The confusion of tongues is indeed the curse of Babel; and however desirable it may be that the whole human race should once more speak the same language, it is not in the power of man to over-rule the decrees divine. In Wales, experience has taught that the linguistic difficulty must be faced, not ignored.

In succession to Bishop Ollivant, Mr. Gladstone nomin-

---

<sup>1</sup> Paper read at Manchester Church Congress, 1888, by Dean Howell. Report, p. 73.

ated a patriotic and capable Welshman to the see of Llandaff,—Richard Lewis, Vicar of Lampeter Velfry.

In response to a feeling generally expressed in the Welsh press, Bishop Hughes inaugurated a national movement to celebrate the tercentenary year—1888—of the translation of the Bible into the Welsh language, which resulted in the erection of the national monument in front of S. Asaph cathedral. The contributions came from all sources—rich and poor—irrespective of creed or class—including the pence of the Sunday School children, and the widow's mite. Among the first to subscribe were the Duke of Westminster, the four Welsh Bishops, and Mr. Gladstone. Before the movement had been thought of, Mr. Gladstone had interested himself in the work which the monument commemorates, by translating into English, with a grace of diction worthy of his scholarship, Bishop Morgan's Latin dedication of the Welsh Bible to Queen Elizabeth.

The day of unveiling—April 22, 1892—was observed as a general holiday in the neighbourhood, and the ceremony opened with a Welsh service in the Cathedral, which was crowded, and a sermon by the Archdeacon (Griffiths) of Llandaff. Service over, as the cathedral clock, on which the sun was pouring its beaming rays, struck three in the afternoon, the Bishop of S. Asaph unveiled the monument in the presence of an immense gathering from all parts. Here were united, by common love, joy and gladness, Churchmen and Nonconformists, rich and poor, rank and wealth. For once—and it was a touching tribute to the greatness of Bishop Morgan's work—all classes and sects merged their differences in one deep feeling which found expression with thrilling effect, in the sublime tones of the old Welsh hymn—

"Dyma Feibl f' anwyl Iesu."

sang, with all that heartiness with which Welsh people can sing, by the whole mass surrounding the monument. Singing ended, Bishop Edwards said :—

“The tercentenary of the publication of Holy Scriptures for the first time in the language of a people is obviously the celebration of an event from which the mightiest results ensued, and the men who have given to a people the Word of God in their own language have a claim upon their gratitude, national in extent and permanent in time. In no civilized country was the translation of the Scriptures into the language of the people more distinctly or admittedly the forerunner—if not largely the cause—of religious movements of the most vital and far-reaching importance than in this great kingdom of England, to which it is our chief pride to belong (hear, hear.) Here in Wales the effects of the translations of the Holy Scriptures into the vernacular language were not less marked and important; while the collateral influences of that translation were in Wales special and unique. It would be interesting, were that the time and place, to trace out and to compare the effect of that translation upon the peoples of England and Wales, and what variations of effect were noticeable in its influence upon the religious life and thought of the period. We are certainly safe in saying that the publication of the Bible in Welsh touched and shaped theology in Wales not less powerfully than the authorized version did in England. But in Wales the translation of the Bible had a literary influence almost, I believe, without a parallel upon the language of the people. In Wales the Welsh Bible, and all that has been written in or about it, forms not only as in England a literature in itself, but practically constitutes the literature of the Welsh people. If you take “*Llyfryddiaeth y Cymry*,” and strike your pen through all the theological books the remnant left is small and meagre. Nowhere, therefore, has the translation of the Bible constituted such a literary epoch as in Wales (cheers.) Almost more remarkable than its literary was the linguistic influence of the translation of the Bible into Welsh. It is more than probable that the Welsh language for the last 300 years owes not only its literature but its very life and survival to the translation of the Bible into Welsh. A very competent and distinguished authority expressed, I believe, this opinion at one of our national gatherings, nor is the statement altogether an hypothesis: “If we may judge by the history of Cornish, the sister-language of Welsh, had the Bible been translated into Cornish in the 16th century, then a living, and judging from its mystery Plays, a

vigorous language, that translation might have prolonged the life of that language even to the end of the 19th century." Therefore our literary and linguistic debt to the Welsh Bible is no small one. The unique literary and linguistic position of the Welsh Bible has providentially contributed to render it the paramount study of every Welshman, and thus to secure for the divine truth which it enshrines an undisputed hold upon the mind and heart of every man who loves his mother tongue. Thus for a Welshman his Bible is bound up with the very thought and speech of his native land; and small wonder then that the divine truths of revelation when enshrined in a casket jewelled with such precious and powerful associations should have found a home and a throne in every Welsh heart (Applause.) When Wales remembers this, her gratitude to the man who was providentially raised for the accomplishing of so great a work is only faintly expressed in the beautiful monument unveiled to-day. No portrait has handed down to posterity the features of Bishop Morgan, but he has left abundant materials wherewith we may form an estimate of his life and character. Literary style-like manners is the superficial index of qualities which underlie both. And we may therefore predicate of Bishop Morgan that he was a man of singularly clear and vigorous mind, and that he handled his mother's speech with the sensitive aptness of one who knew and loved it deeply. From his correspondence we learn that he was a bishop of strong character, and would not smoothly consent to what expediency might suggest but conscience could not ratify. Others who will follow me will speak in greater detail of the Bishop's life and work, but it is no otiose or rhetorical epithet when we describe his translation of the Bible as "great." It would be great even to-day, when the stores of knowledge and the opportunities and facilities for study, have been vastly increased. And if any one amongst us to-day was to accomplish such a work we should describe him in superlatives. But when we consider the time and circumstances under which Bishop Morgan translated the Bible, when we imagine the difficulties, now dimmed by the lapse of three centuries, which encompassed his work at every stage, and then when we regard the excellence and the fidelity of his completed task, we are lost in wonder at the greatness of the man, and can only say that he was God-gifted and God-given for the work. Many changes have passed over our land since the days of Bishop Morgan, and as we stand here to-day differing many of us in creed and tenet, just as the translation of Bishop Morgan rescued his native language from extinction, and saved it from vanishing in various

and local dialects, so may we, his descendants of a later day, find in that book which he gave his countrymen the source and life of a deeper unity and concord (applause.)

Dr. James, Head Master of Rugby, sometime Dean of S. Asaph, said :—

“It gave him singular pleasure to be present on that occasion, and to have witnessed a ceremony in the preparation for which he had borne some part. It should be quite understood that he had not accepted the chairmanship of that movement in his own name, but as the deputy of one who if he had been forty years younger would have done so with far greater propriety and ability than he (Dr. James.) He referred to the beloved Bishop whose place the present Bishop so worthily filled—Bishop Hughes (applause.) Some years ago they were gathered together in the Bishop’s house, and were talking as to how the tercentenary of the Welsh Bible could best be celebrated. Some one had said in a letter written to a Welsh newspaper that the then Bishop of St. Asaph was the proper person to take the lead in this matter. The Bishop said he was too old for that. Then turning to him (Dr. James) he said: “Will you do it for me?” He had three good reasons for saying “Yes” to that request. Firstly, he could not refuse that request, coming, as it did, from one whom he loved and respected. Another reason was, he had a keen interest himself in the movement. There was a third reason,—that he knew everybody thought a dean had nothing to do, and therefore if he did not accept the offer, perhaps he should be regarded as one more idle cathedral dignitary (laughter.) He accepted the chairmanship, but did not want to take any more credit than was due to him. In the first place, they, as a committee, had two great things to do, to settle the form of the memorial, and to collect subscriptions; and that they had done, he hoped, moderately well. Perhaps they could have got more if they had been more vigorous; but they did their best, considering the time they had at their disposal. But there had been a further duty of the committee, and that was the erection of the memorial which they had unveiled that day. He could not claim any part in that; therefore he was better able heartily to congratulate both the sub-committee and the designer of the monument, who was present there that day—Mr. Henry Prothero (applause.) The unveiling had been to him (the speaker) a revelation of what could be done in this century of ours in the way of monuments of that kind, and he thought they could heartily congratulate themselves on the monu-

ment they saw before them (applause.) He thought it would be a revelation to others besides himself. Above all he hoped that it would be a revelation to the world—especially the English world—of what Welsh scholarship had been and was (renewed applause.) As half an Englishman, he was proud of the band of workers who in the year 1611 brought out the authorised version of the English Bible, but if he might



Bishop Morgan's Monument.

Bishop Hughes—1807—1889.

Bishop Edwards—1848.

turn round and speak with the other half of himself as a Welshman, he thought they in Wales had reason to be still more proud of the one man who, practically by himself, with very little help, was able to produce a version which might quite well hold its own with that noble English version to which he had adverted (hear, hear.) He hoped also it would be a revelation to the world outside of a thing which everybody did not believe to exist among the Welsh—that was unity (applause.) He knew that people in England thought that religion in Wales consisted chiefly of controversy. There were letters in newspapers, but those letters were only like the foam upon the breakers in a storm at sea (laughter.) There they saw only the surface, but when they went right down below there was a mass of water, deep, strong, and eternal. And, so, deep down in the Welsh heart there was, he was sure, a great moving force and mass of spiritual power which one day would show its real and true unity (loud applause,) and he believed that monument was as good a proof as they could bring there that day to show that it did exist (renewed applause.) He hoped this would also be a revelation to the outer world of the Welshman's love for his Bible (applause.) He trusted the day would never come when the people of Wales would begin to lose their hold upon the Bible; and that if they did, the monument would still be there to remind them that the greatness and goodness to which their forefathers could lay claim, was due to their love for the one great Book, and that it would serve to bring back their posterity at such a crisis to the true ways of their ancient faith (loud applause.)

Between the years 1889 and 1899, four vacancies occurred in the sees of Wales—S. Asaph, Bangor (twice vacant), and S. David's. In each case a native Welsh-speaking Welshman who had laboured in Wales was nominated by Lord Salisbury, who, having Welsh blood in his veins, showed his Welsh sympathies by these appointments, and which are well emphasised repudiations of the anti-Welsh policy of Walpole. History repeats itself. It is an interesting coincidence that Lord Salisbury has in this matter followed the wise policy of his illustrious ancestor, William Cecil, the trusted minister and adviser of the great Queen Elizabeth.

A Bill for disestablishing and disendowing the Church in

Wales passed its second reading in the House of Commons, on April 1st, 1895, by a majority of 44. Before it emerged from Committee the Government resigned, and it never came to its third Reading. By this Bill it was proposed that all endowments that could not be proved to be given since 1703, should be secularized and given to hospitals, cottage and otherwise, to the maintenance of trained nurses for the poor, for technical and other educational purposes, for the establishment of libraries and museums, and for other secular purposes which might be thought desirable. The Church was allowed the use of the parish churches as before; but the Welsh Cathedrals were to be entrusted to the care of commissioners appointed by the Bill, with power to allow the services of the Church to be held in them, but nothing was said about not allowing other services to be held there, or even meetings of a non-religious character.

The hand of the spoiler was stayed at the year 1703 to guard Non-conformist endowments, which date no further back than that year, from suffering the same fate. Antiquity adds sacredness and stability to endowments of every kind; but in the eyes of the framers of this Bill, the elements of sacredness and antiquity appear to have formed reasons for depriving the Church of her endowments—and the endowments of the Church in Wales are older than those of the Church in England—just the same as British Christianity is older than English Christianity. No wonder that the Liberal Party standing on so rotten a platform fell under the crushing weight of public opinion at the election of 1895—for that election turned mainly on the question of Welsh Disestablishment—and the verdict was unmistakably given against it. This was the most disastrous defeat which the Liberal Party had sustained since 1832. In the campaign, the

Church Defence Institution did valuable work, and Bishop Edwards of S. Asaph led the way with indomitable courage and inexhaustible energy, and secured the sympathy and support of English churchmen, who made the cause of the Church in Wales their own cause, quite as much as if the effort had been made to disestablish and disendow some other four dioceses in the Province of Canterbury.<sup>1</sup> There can be no doubt that the restraining influence of Mr. Gladstone, when in the Cabinet, kept his party within reasonable bounds on this question of Disestablishment. His position with regard to the Bill already referred to is thus stated by his biographer.<sup>2</sup> "Mr. Gladstone remained member for Midlothian until the General Election of 1895; and a pair was eventually arranged for him with Mr. C. P. Villiers, the Father of the House. The announcement that this pair was broken in Committee on the Welsh Disestablishment Bill was thought to have injured the Government, and to have helped to produce the fiasco of resignation upon cordite. An explanation of Mr. Gladstone's action was given by Mr. Herbert Gladstone at Leeds, on July 8th. Mr. Gladstone, he said, did not disagree with the policy of his late colleagues, but the Disestablishment Bill, a complicated measure, was drawn after his retirement, and on three points in it he wished to have free action. He paired in favour of the Second Reading of the Bill, and then wrote to say that he must have a free hand on the three points, in question. The Whips, in discussing the matter, found that the three points came up in different forms, and were liable to come up on different occasions. Mr. Ellis was therefore compelled to break Mr. Gladstone's pair for Committee."

---

1. "I come from the steps of the chair of Augustine, your younger ally, to tell you that, by the Benediction of God, we will not quietly see you disinherited." Archbishop (Benson) of Canterbury. Speech at Rhyl Church Congress, 1891.

2. Life of W. E. Gladstone, edited by Sir Wemyss Reid, p. 732.

Widely as Welsh Churchmen differed from Mr. Gladstone on many political questions, all recognized in him a great Churchman, but above all, as Lord Salisbury truly said,<sup>1</sup> "a great, Christian man." Mr. Gladstone's affection for the Church—his first love, as appears from his desire to take Holy Orders at the outset of his career—never left him. During his comparative retirement from Parliamentary life, he showed a fondness for theological subjects. It will be remembered with what vigour and zest he opposed the Public Worship Regulation Bill, and described it as a "paltry, narrow and unfair attempt to bridle a particular section of the clergy." About the same time he was engaged in a heated controversy with Cardinal Manning, Dr., afterwards Cardinal, Newman, and other controversialists, on the question of absolute obedience to the Roman Church—an obedience which Mr. Gladstone pointed out to be inconsistent with the principles of freedom, and he asserted the doctrine of papal infallibility as the enemy of liberty. A born theologian,<sup>2</sup> his masterful production on Bishop Butler's great work was his last legacy to English theological literature. His voice was heard almost for the last time in public commending for support the S. Asaph Diocesan Branch of the Queen Victoria Clergy Sustentation Fund. Of the excellencies of Mr. Gladstone's private character and the pure simplicity of his daily life—memories "which blossom in the dust"—much might be said in his praise for imitation.

---

1. Speech in the House of Lords after Mr. Gladstone's death.

2. S. Deiniol's Library was founded at Hawarden by Mr. Gladstone, in promotion of divine learning, and to facilitate theological studies. The new building, now in course of erection, is one of the national memorials raised to him. The foundation stone has this inscription:—"In this Building erected to his memory by a grateful nation is preserved the Library of William Ewart Gladstone, who eminent, no less as Theologian than as Statesman, established this foundation for the advancement of Divine learning. This stone was laid in the presence of the Lord Bishop of the Diocese, by the Duke of Westminster, K.G., Oct. 5, 1899."

No storm of rain, snow or wind was ever known to prevent him from attending daily morning prayer before breakfast in the parish Church,—nearly a mile distant from Hawarden Castle. Worshipping in Hawarden Church on one Friday



(From the "Graphic." By permission.)

**Mr. Gladstone reading the Lessons in Hawarden Church.<sup>1</sup>**

---

1. Our illustration is from an original painting by Sydney P. Hall. The Rev. Stephen E. Gladstone writes: "Hawarden Rectory, May 27, 1900. Mr. Hall did not take my father in Church, but had several chances at the Rectory of meeting and seeing him. The attitude however, is most lifelike, and wonderfully good. It is really a noble picture. I did not like the idea of it at all at first, and told this to Mr. Hall. But now I am glad of it."

morning, the pale, thoughtful face of Mr. Gladstone was discernible there among the worshippers, and none could fail to be impressed with his devotion, and the earnestness with which he joined in the service. On Sunday, he was regularly in his place in church, morning and evening, and, when his help was needed, he read the lessons. Gifted as he was with a rich voice, which he used with well varied modulation and clear utterance, he read with that absorbed self-forgetfulness which showed that he both knew and loved the subject.

After a long and painful illness, borne with Christian fortitude, Mr. Gladstone (1809—1898,) resigned his soul to God on Ascension Day, 1898, amidst expressions of the deepest regret from all who knew him, and had heard of him—among whom were his beloved Queen, the crowned heads of Europe, Princes, Nobles and Statesmen of the civilized world. Not the least touching was the Benediction sent Mr. Gladstone on his death-bed by the Primate of Ireland—representing the Church he had disestablished.

How helpful to those left behind are the words of the Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here in earth. "And we also bless thy holy Name for all thy servants departed this life in thy faith and fear : beseeching thee to give us grace so to follow their good examples, that with them we may be partakers of thy heavenly kingdom."

The declaration by Mr. Gladstone that the Church in Wales was an advancing Church, an active Church, a living Church, and a rising Church from elevation to elevation, reminds us of the prophetic words of Rowlands of Llangeitho respecting the Church in Wales, that "the bees would return to the old hive again," and so become once more what unquestionably she was, within comparatively recent times, the

Church of the Cymry, in fact as well as in name. Notwithstanding the opposing elements, and the Church has never been without them, this is no wild dream of the future, when we consider the deep regard entertained by Welsh people generally for the Church as a spiritual body, how they love her Catholic doctrines, and her beautiful liturgy—the number of Nonconformists, ministers and others—continually joining the Church, and the number of sons of Nonconformists under training in her colleges preparatory to taking Holy Orders. These are the signs of the times, indicating that many outside the pale of the Church in Wales are turning their faces homeward to their "Old Mother Church"—and the means to that end have been largely supplied by the reform of those abuses which may explain, but do not justify, their separation.

"Though with a scornful wonder  
Men see her sore opprest,  
By schisms rent asunder,  
By heresies distrest,  
Yet saints their watch are keeping,  
Their cry goes up, "How long?"  
And soon the night of weeping  
Shall be the morn of song."

\* \* \* \* \*

"Finding, following, keeping, struggling,  
Is He sure to bless?  
Angels, Martyrs, Prophets, Virgins,  
Answer, Yes."

"Wherefore seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus the author and finisher of our faith: who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God."<sup>1</sup>

---

1. Heb. xii. 1, 2.



# INDEX.



The letter *a* denotes that the page has an illustration.

A.  
 Abbot of Strata Florida, 198.  
 A., Becket, Thomas, 156, 187.  
 Act for the Propagation of the Gospel  
   in Wales, 345.  
 Adellad, meaning of, 53.  
 Agricola, 38, 40.  
 Alaric, 50.  
 Alban, S. 20, 21, 22,*a*  
 Aldhelm, 130, 131, 135.  
 Alexander the Great, 1.  
 Alfred, King, 136.  
 Altars, 56.  
 Alun, 412, 413,*a*  
 Ambrosius, 61.  
 Amphibolus, 20.  
 Anglesey, 7.  
 Anglican Orders, 135, 259.  
 Anglo-Saxon Church and the Welsh, 132.  
 Anselm, 145.  
 Archdruid, 5.  
 Arian Heresy, 28.  
 Arles, Council of, 17, 27.  
 Arminium, Council of, 28  
 Aaron, S. 23.  
 Arthur, King, 61, 62,  
 Arundel, 220.  
 Asaph S. 69.  
 Asser Menevensis, 136.  
 Athanasius, S. 28.  
 Augustine, S. 17, 36, 40, 54, 85.

B.  
 Bayly, Bp. 317.  
 Baldwin, Archbishop, 188.  
 Bangor City, 99,*a* 102, 159*a*  
 Bangor Clergy and Pope Alexander, 158.  
 Bangor Grammar School, 281.  
 Bangor-is-y-coed, 36, 104,*a*  
 Bangorian Controversy, 372.  
 Barebones Parliament, 341.  
 Bardsey Island, 67, 108,*a*  
 Bardd Cwsg, 365.  
 Barlow, Bp. 267.  
 Basilicus, 52.  
 Bede, 30, 52, 105.  
 Bernard, Bp., 153.  
 Bethell, Bp., 418.  
 Bevan, Madam., 378.  
 Bible, Welsh, 269.  
 Bowles, Dr. 331.  
 Brecon College, 419.  
 Britannia, 1, 31.  
 British Christianity, 9.  
 Brittany, 34.

British Liturgies, 40, 47.  
 Brithwald, 130.  
 Brownists, 278.  
 British and Foreign Bible Society, 392.  
 Brut y Tywysogion, 132.  
 Brython, 33.  
 Bull, Bp. 366, 367.  
 Burgess, Bp. 402.  
 Butler, Bp. 373, 374.  
 Byzantium, 26.

C.  
 Cadwallader, King, 130.  
 Caerleon, 23, 62, 65, 66.  
 Caerwys, Eisteddfod, 235.  
 Caesar Honorius, 29.  
 Calixtus, 153.  
 Campbell, Bp. 416.  
 Cambria, 33.  
 Caradoc, *a* 12, 138.  
 Carnarvon Castle, 208.  
 Carthage, Council of, 36.  
 Caswallon, 69.  
 Cathedrals Welsh, Dedication of, 74.  
 Celts, 17.  
 Ceredigion, Principality of, 70.  
 Celestius, 36.  
 Celestine, 36, 37.  
 Charles y Bala, 388, 389, 390, 391, 396,*a*  
 Chester, Battle of, 105.  
 Chor-Episcopi, 66.  
 Church and State, 23.  
 Chrysostom, S. 37.  
 Cistercians, The, 161*a*, 164.  
 Clynnog, Morrus, 261.  
 Coel Godebog, 32  
 Columbia, 92,*a* 101.  
 Cotton, Dean, 422.  
 Constantine, 111, 29, 65.  
 Constantius, 19, 20.  
 Cradock, Walter, 343.  
 Cromwell, Oliver, 336, 344, 350.  
 Cunedda Wledig, 32, 65.  
 Cyfeiliog, Owain, 182.  
 Cyffin Morrus, 284.  
 Cymmorthau, 227.

D.  
 Daron, Dean, 225.  
 Dafydd Ddu o Hiraddug, 246.  
 Davids, S. College, 401.  
 Davies, Bp. Richard, 287.  
 Davies, Dr. John, 313.  
 David, S. 69, 70, 76,*a* 79, 80, 81, 82, 83,

Dafydd ap Gwilym, 216.

Dee River, 103.

Deganwy Castle, 67.

Deiniol Wyn, 67, 68; 115a.

Disraeli, Mr., 472.

Derfel Gadarn, 251.

"Diolch am yr Efyngyl," 291.a

Druidism, 2, 4, a 8.

Diocletian Persecution, 18.

Disestablishment, Welsh, 423, 437.

Donatists, 27.

Doomsday Book, 147.

Dubricius, 61, 62, 65, 66, 71, 153.

Dunawd, 67, 97.

Dyfynwal Moelmud, 137.

## E.

Eben Fardd, 401.

Edward 1, 197, 202.

Edwards, Bp., 432, 438.

Edwards, Dean, 426, 427.

Eisteddfod, The National, 6

Elbod, 41.

Elias, John, 398, 399, 400.

Elizabeth, Queen, 265.

Emyr, 133.

Eusebius, 19.

Evans, Canon Daniel, 426.

## F.

Fastidus, 37.

Ferrar, Bp. 260.

Fidei Defensor, 235.

Flint Castle, 218.

Fonts, 56.

Fulgentius, 40.

Fuller, 42.

## G.

Gallic Wars, 2.

Gallican Church, 37.

Gallican Liturgy, 47.

Geoffrey of Monmouth, 23.

Glastonbury, 15, 63.

Glyndwr, Owain, 217, 225, 229.

S. Germanus, 16, 37, 39, 41, 42, 47, 49.

Gibbon, 17, 24, 25, 65.

Gildas, 11, 21, 47, 61.

Giraldus Cambrensis, 23, 176, 177, 184.

Gladstone, Mr, 423, 424, 425, 426, 438, 441a

Goodman, Dean, 302.

Gorsedd, The, 6.

Goths. The, 36.

Gregory Pope, 85, 197.

Griffith, Bp. George, 352.

Gwynedd, Owain, 154, 155, 159a, 160, 180, a

Gwallter Mechain, 393.

## H.

Halelujah Battle, 42, 43.

Harries, Howell, 387, 388.

Heber, Bp. 412, 413a.

Helena, S. 19, 25.

Hengist and Horsa, 34, 50.

Henry VIII., 235.

Herveus, Bp. 147.

Hilary, S. 23.

Hoadley, Bp. 371, 372.

Holy Graal, 15.

Horsley, Bp. 380.

Howell Dda, 139, 140, 141.

Howell, Dean, 404, 430.

Humphreys, Bp. 365.

Hughes, Bp. 424, 425.

Hwyl, The, 214.

## I.

Iago Trichrug, 401.

Independents, The, 336, 337.

Innocent iii, 189.

Ireneaus, 17.

Intinerant Bishops, 65.

Ieuan Brydydd Hir, 382.

Ieuan Glan Geirionydd, 411, 412.a

## J.

Jacobism, 369.

Jacobson, Bp., 422.

James, Dr., on the Bp. Morgan Monu-  
ment, 434.

Jerome, S. 23, 38, 40.

Jesus College, Oxford, 281.

John, King, 197.

Johnson, Dr. 383.

Jones, Bp. Basil, 425, 427.

Jones, Griffith Jones, Llanddwrwr, 368, 370,  
375, 376, 377.

Joseph of Arimathea, 15.

Julianus, 37.

Julius Caesar, 1, 2.

Julius S. 23.

Jnstin Martyr, 17.

Jutes, 34.

## K.

Kentigern, S. 67, 68, 69.

Kerav, Church of, 186.

Kitchen, Bp. 256.

Kythin Dean, 234.

## L.

Laud, Archbishop, 321, 328.a

Llandovery College, 419, 421.a

Lewis, Bp., 431.

Lay Impropriation, 243.

Lloyd Bp. of St. Asaph, 355, 356, 357, 361, 363.a

Lloyd, Bp. of Norwich, 356, 359.

Lloyd of Chirk, 320.

Llewelyn, Prince, 197.

## M.

Macsen Wledig, 27.

Maelgwyn Gwynedd, 67.

Marian Martyrs, 260.

Martin's, S. 16, 51, a 53.

Martin Marprelate Tracts, 307.

Mendicant Orders, 161, 242.

Methodism, Welsh, 394, 395, 397.

Moelydon, 7.

Monasteries, Welsh, 99.

Moralia of S. Gregory, 44.

Morgan, Bp. 299, 294, 295, 296, 297, 312, Monu-  
ment, 435, a 436.

## N.

Nero, 23.

Nicea, Council of, 17, 28.

O.  
Offerings at funerals, 194.  
Ollivant, Bp. 416, 430.  
Origen, 9.  
Owen, Bishop, 349.  
Owen, Goronwy, 379.  
Owen, Dr. John, 337, 338.*a*  
Oxford Movement, 409.

P.  
Paley, 381.  
Pall, The Roman, 86.*a*  
Papal Supremacy, 238.  
Parish Clerk, 407, 408.*a*  
Parliamentary Annexation of Wales to  
England, 313.  
Parry, Bp., 313.  
Patronage, Church in Wales, 405.  
Patrick, S., 47.  
Paul's Cross, 275.*a*  
Peacock, Bp., 232.  
Peckham, 209.  
Pelagian Heresy, 35, 40.  
Penry, John, 308.  
Powell, Vavasor, 348.  
Powis, Earl of, 417.*a*  
Powell, Dr., 240.  
Pritchard, Vicar, 326, 327.*a*  
Prys, Archdeacon, 301, 315.*a*  
Pryse, Dr. Elis, 247.

Q.  
Quakers, The, 353.  
Queen Anne's Bounty, 364.

R.  
Reformation, The, 235, 255.  
Religious Grievances, 237.  
Rhyddmarch 67, 81, 148.  
Rhuddlan Statute, 207.  
Roberts, Canon Griffith, 262.  
Robinson, Bp. 273.  
Rowland's, Daniel, Llangeitho, 383, 384.  
Royal Supremacy, 239.  
Ruthin Grammar School, 281, 419.

S.  
Sanctuary Church, 112.*a*  
Saxon Conquest, 58.  
Salesbury, William, 257, 287.  
Salisbury, Lord, 436.  
Short, Bp. 424.  
Sion Cent, 223.  
Stanley, Dean, 428.  
Stonehenge, 6.*a*  
Sufferings of the Clergy, 347.  
Suppression of Monasteries, 241, 245.

T.  
Tacitus, 1, 2.  
Tercenary of Welsh Bible, 431.

Tonsure, The, 89.  
Tintern Abbey, 165, 166.*a*  
Tertullian, 10, 11, 17.  
Thirlwall, Bp. 414, 415, 428.  
Thomas, Bp. of Worcester, 360, 361.  
Tithes, 248.  
Traditions respecting British Christianity, 13  
Trevor, Bp. 226.  
Triads Welsh, 11, 26.  
Tudor Henry, 233.  
Tudor, Owain, 231.  
Taylor, Bp. Jeremy, 339, 340.*a*

U.  
Use of Bangor, 215.

V.  
Vad Velen, 67, 72, 73.  
Vaughan, Rowland, 317, *a* 318, *a* 319.*a*  
Verulam, 20, 30, 39.  
Vicar, Title of, 168.  
Victoria, Queen, and the Welsh language,  
415.  
Vortigern, 33, 48.

W.  
Watson, Bp. 330, 381.  
Welsh Ballads, 294.  
Welsh Book of Common Prayer, 282, 289.*a*  
Welsh Bible, 292, 295, 303, *a*—Tercenary  
of, 431, 432, 433.  
Welshman's Candle, 325.  
Welsh Church Press, 427.  
Welsh language, 58.  
Welsh Monasteries, 170, 249.  
Welsh Preaching, 403.  
Welsh Saints, List of 114.*a*  
Welsh Topography, 59.  
Welsh Testament, 282, 285, 286.*a*  
Welsh Wedding, 342.  
Wesley, John, 383, 298.*a*  
Westminster Abbey, 428, 429.  
Whitgift Archbishop, 296.*a*  
Whig and Tory, 355.  
Wilberforce, Bp., 418.  
Williams, Archbishop, 330, 331, 332, 333.*a*  
Williams, Dr. Thomas, Trefriw, 312.  
Williams, Bp. Griffith, 334, 335.  
Williams, Isaac, 409, 410.*a*  
Williams, Pantycelyn, 385, 386.  
Williams, Archdeacon John, 420.  
Williams, Dr. Rowland, 419.

Y.  
Ynys Witron, 15.  
York, Archbishopric of, 26.

Z.  
Zozimus, Pope, 35.

PUBLISHED ANNUALLY.

PRICE 10/6.

---

# . The Clergy List, .

with which is incorporated the

## **CLERICAL GUIDE and ECCLESIAS- TICAL DIRECTORY,**

containing

COMPLETE LISTS OF THE CLERGY IN ENGLAND,  
WALES, SCOTLAND, IRELAND, and the COLONIES,

Including Army, Navy, Prison, Union and Foreign Chap-  
lains, &c., with Degrees, Orders and Appointments,

AN ALPHABETICAL LIST OF BENEFICES,

With the Dedication of the Churches, Post Town, Railway  
Station, County, Incumbent, Curates, Annual Value,  
Patron and Population ;

THE CATHEDRAL ESTABLISHMENTS, RURAL  
DEANERIES & CONSTITUENT LIVINGS,

List of Public and Private Patrons of Benefices, with  
Value,, &c., &c.

---

*London: KELLY'S DIRECTORIES Limited*  
*182, 183, 184, High Holborn, W.C.*







